

Moses Rosenkranz, the Bukovina and the concept of Sprache als Heimat

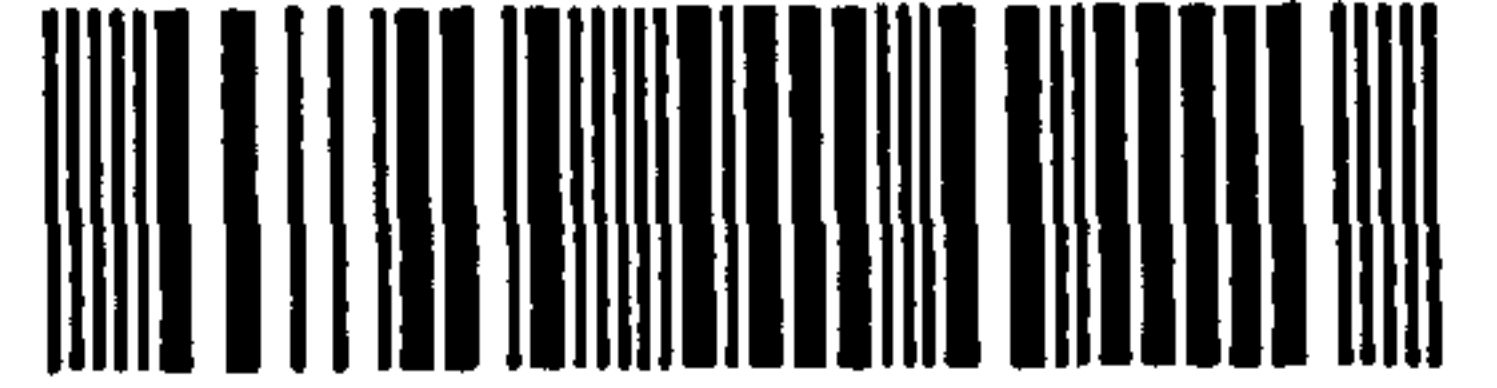
Avery, Joan

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without the prior written consent of the author

For additional information about this publication click this link.

<http://qmro.qmul.ac.uk/jspui/handle/123456789/1379>

Information about this research object was correct at the time of download; we occasionally make corrections to records, please therefore check the published record when citing. For more information contact scholarlycommunications@qmul.ac.uk



23 1304374 2

2TH4487 AVE

Moses Rosenkranz,
the Bukovina
and the concept of *Sprache als Heimat*

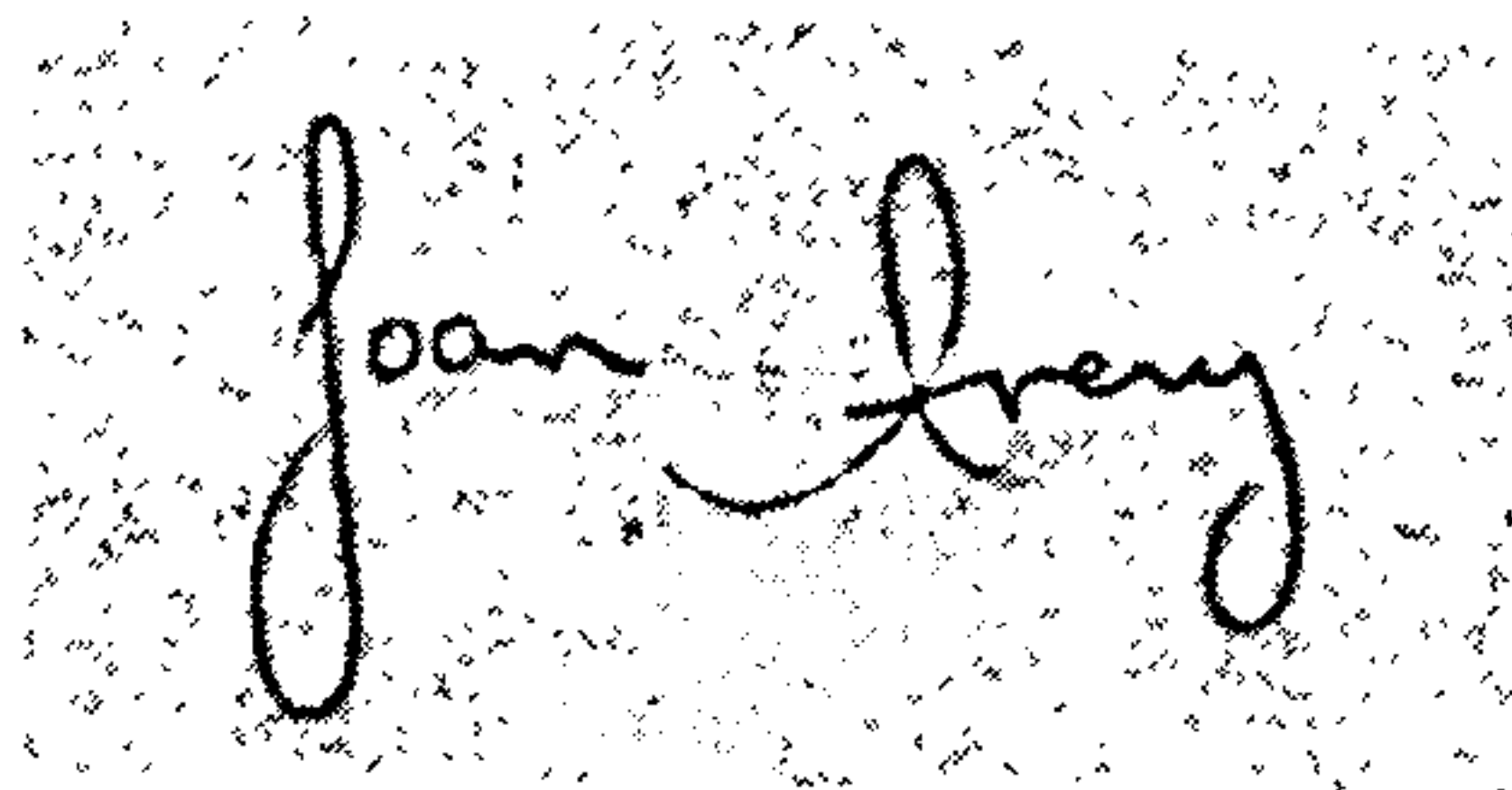
Joan Avery

Queen Mary, University of London

Submitted for German Literature PhD

October 2008

The work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Joan Avery". The signature is written in black ink on a light-colored, textured background.

Signed 10 October 2008, Joan Avery

Abstract

The aim of this study is to present the poet Moses Rosenkranz from the Bukovina and to examine how Heidegger's phrase *Sprache als Heimat* applied to the life and works of this particular poet and his environment.

The first section looks at Rosenkranz's biography within the context of the Bukovina, where many people grew up speaking German, Ruthenian, Romanian, Yiddish and Polish. This placed the authors from the region in a particularly favourable context for having first-hand knowledge of the way language could or could not become an ersatz home for them in everyday life once their own homes had been lost.

The second part of the thesis investigates the way loss affected Rosenkranz's writing and the conditions Heidegger saw as necessary for an encounter with *Dasein*. This revealed some of the details of Heidegger's understanding of the words 'existence', 'language' and '*Heimat*' which could not correspond to Rosenkranz's relationship to language or belonging.

The third part of the thesis considers ways in which a sense of belonging could be recreated in writing. Rosenkranz's relationship with words and the material realities it involved were analysed by using his autobiography, his poems and the letters he wrote to his first wife Anna Ruebner-Rosenkranz. Paul Celan, as the most significant poet from the Bukovina, is often cited as a means of comparing the two writers and in order to convey a fuller picture of the literary area.

Comparing Heidegger's thoughts on language and home with the way Rosenkranz and other Bukovina poets understood the two concepts provided new material for an interpretation of *Sprache als Heimat* in terms of the relationship between writer and reader. This revealed that the understanding of language in the works of the Bukovina authors was actually closer to the conclusions on language reached by the philosopher Lévinas than to those of Heidegger. Lévinas shows how the relationship to the other, to whom language is addressed, can become the real reason for writing and the point where language and belonging meet.

Table of Contents

Abstract 3

Introduction 6

Part 1: The Bukovina *Heimat* 16

 The Bukovina as a literary space 16

 The myth of the Bukovina..... 24

 Homes within *Heimat*: the village..... 31

 The house 40

 Rosenkranz’s biography 45

 Rosenkranz as a Bukovina poet 55

Part 2: The effects of loss 69

Heimat and its mindscapes 69

 Preserving the familiar 76

 Home in the unknown 89

 Time and the subject 96

 Silence 106

 Losing the subject 121

Part 3: Reconstructing 131

 The need for metaphors..... 131

Sprache als Heimat as a metaphor 140

 Améry’s objections to the metaphor 144

 Re-instating the subject 149

 The poem’s address..... 158

| | |
|---------------------------|-----|
| ‘Redress of poetry’ | 166 |
| Language as home..... | 173 |
| Conclusion..... | 178 |
| Bibliography | 185 |

Introduction

The concept of *Heimat* is becoming kaleidoscopic in an age of intensive migration where the displaced person has become the protagonist of many works of art. Whether in novels, poetry, films, biographies, pieces of music or art installations the theme of home and homelessness is being explored with its many variations. Not just intellectually, but also emotionally the word 'home' is loaded with evocative power. 'Who among us has never been moved to tears, or to tears' invisible counterparts, by mention of the word home? Is there any other word that can feel so heavy as you hold it in the mouth?'¹ Kamila Shamsie's novel *Kartography* about contradicting feelings towards home is just one of the recent tributes to the numerous people who have had to emigrate and start again in a new country. The entity that used to constitute home could in the past be called a nation, a language, a town or a family but now even those familiar terms do not seem sufficient when trying to identify what creates a sense of home. The country of childhood is not necessarily where the adult feels at home. Language does not always imply cultural affinities and mindscapes can vary more than quantifiable factors.

Currently the many mixtures of countries of origin and mother-tongues, especially in urban contexts, keep raising the question of what exactly it is that makes a person belong to a particular group. Whether war, poverty or personal reasons have caused an individual to leave one country and settle in another, the effort of readjusting oscillates between loyalties to the past and the need to adapt to the present. The hardships of everyday life as a foreigner often require casting memories aside and addressing the basic challenges of social integration. Thus the past may be relegated to a part of memory which only occasionally dares to come out in conversation, a song, a letter or perhaps in a religious ritual, but many migrants choose amnesia instead as the best remedy for the conflicting emotions caused by loss.

It is crucial to understand what it is that improves peoples' sense of identification with a larger group, as traditional forms of belonging are changing rapidly due to migration, but also due to technology and the immediacy with which people and information can connect. The way communication codes work and how they can convey the feeling of community is part of the question of how language can become a type of home. The sound of the human voice as the expression of the need to be within someone else's sensory world extends itself to the written text which then becomes the articulation of that need, thus creating an interdependency between readers and writers. This decisive aspect of language as the binding agent between people is one of the main ways in which a *Heimat* is formed.

¹ Kamila Shamsie, *Kartography*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2002), p. 63.

The difference between the emotional image of *Heimat* in poems and the philosophical concepts of what *Heimat* is runs throughout the study and becomes one of the main obstacles when trying to merge the poet's version of *Heimat* and that of the philosopher. Throughout this thesis *Heimat* will be seen as both the idea and the practical reality which would most be affected by the turmoils of the twentieth century.

Although the history of the concept *Heimat* as seen by Bloch, Nietzsche or Lukacz would provide a deeper understanding of the historical trajectory of the term in the German language, the focus in this study will be on the interaction between two authors, who in different ways, saw language itself as a type of belonging: Heidegger as the twentieth century's most influential thinker about language and Moses Rosenkranz, a poet from the Bukovina, a prolific writer who endured the Czernovitz ghetto, labour camps in Transnistria and then ten years of Gulag in Siberia. As someone whose life was literally in danger over such an extended period of time, he provides fascinating poetic and biographical material for testing the veracity of Heidegger's claims about language. The choice was to combine a study of one poet's works and life with the philosophical questions of language and belonging. Rosenkranz's decision to write mainly in German derived from his desire to make the language into a defining criterion of his belonging and Heidegger's reflections on belonging and language are used as the critical parameters for evaluating the importance of language in the biography of a poet, who more than others, wrote as a way of constructing a matrix of relationships which he did not have in his everyday life.

The specific nature of the Bukovina *Heimat* was that in the span of Rosenkranz's life (1904-2003) it changed from being under Austrian administration to becoming Romanian to becoming part of the Soviet Union and then of the Ukraine. As multi-faceted as it was, *Heimat* was a particularly powerful concept in the mind of the writers from the region, mainly influenced by their reading of literature written in the German language. *Heimat* remained in many senses abstract, as the land of childhood, or of comparative peacefulness, but not of objective factors. As Mella Horowitz, born in Czernovitz and now living in Israel recalls: 'Schön war es in Czernowitz hauptsächlich, weil ich jung war'.² *Heimat* here remains an emotional reality characterised by its ambiguity and by its gratuitous nature.

This is the first study in English to look more closely at the Bukovina as a literary region and at the life and works of Moses Rosenkranz in particular. It is also the first to use the Bukovina region to discover to what degree a person's language could become a home of its own, in

² Gaby Coldewey, Anja Fiedler, Stefan Gehrke (eds.), *Zwischen Pruth und Jordan, Lebenserinnerungen Czernowitzer Juden*, (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2003), p. 3.

other words, to test the possible meanings of Heidegger's statements by looking at the life of Moses Rosenkranz in particular and at Bukovina poetry in general.

In Austria exile studies have not been a prominent part of German literature studies until recently. In the late 1960s East Germany had begun systematic research into the works and authors of those who had fled or emigrated and West Germany was already well advanced in its research at that time, but Austrian academics have been reluctant to confront the issue at all: 'In Österreich hingegen meidet die Germanistik das Feld der Exilliteratur, als wäre es vermintes Gelände'.³ The main continuous work on writers in exile is not to be found in the formal university institutions in Austria, but rather in the publications of Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, such as the *Zwischenwelt* journal, the book series from the *Antifaschistische Literatur und Exilliteratur – Studien und Texte* (published by Siglinde Bolbecher and Konstantin Kaiser), in the *Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes*, in the *Jura Soyfer Gesellschaft* journal and in the *Mnemosyne* journal for Jewish literature or the publishing house of the same name.⁴ New school and university projects on exile studies in Austria are now offered on: www.literaturepochen.at/exil/. *Die Rezeption des Exils: Geschichte und Perspektiven der österreichischen Exilforschung* has deftly drawn together different aspects of the way exile literature has been received in German literature since the second world war.⁵

Within the smaller field of Bukovina writing many works have been published in the past two decades in German. The Rimbaud publishing house in Aachen has devoted whole series to writers from the Bukovina and it has greatly contributed to the discovery of less-known authors from the area. Among the most significant historical and literary works are those carried out by Andrei Corbea.⁶ George Guțu has also greatly contributed to the Celan research and to the presentation of less well known authors from the Bukovina. The collection of articles from *An Der Zeiten Ränder* depicts the lives and history of the area, as does the volume of memories of former inhabitants of the Bukovina, now residing in Israel *Zwischen Pruth und Jordan*.⁷

³ Johann Holzner, 'Die Österreichische Germanistik und die Exilforschung' in *Die Rezeption des Exils: Geschichte und Perspektiven der österreichischen Exilforschung*, ed. by Evelyn Adunka and Peter Roessler, (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003), p. 72.

⁴ Ibid., p.74.

⁵ Evelyn Adunka and Peter Roessler (editors), *Die Rezeption des Exils: Geschichte und Perspektiven der österreichischen Exilforschung*, (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003).

⁶ Andrei Corbea and Michael Astner (editors), *Studien zur deutschsprachigen Literatur des Buchenlandes nach 1918*, (Iassy: Editura Universitatii 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza', 1990).

⁷ Cécile Cordon and Helmut Kusdat (editors), *An Der Zeiten Ränder*, (Vienna: Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, 2002) and *Zwischen Pruth und Jordan: Lebenserinnerungen Czernowitzer Juden*, (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau 2003), ed. by Gaby Coldewey, Anja Fiedler, Stefan Gehrke and others.

These works concentrate on the geographical enclave of the Bukovina and its influence on the rest of German language poetry. In contrast to other studies on literature of exile however, this one attempts to answer a philosophical question by using the works and experience of poets who raised the theme of language as a dwelling place. Language as a home has been a trope since biblical times with the beginning of John's prologue where the Word is seen as that through which the world is created, and the idea continues to exert a powerful attraction on writers of all kinds, but especially on those who have lost their material homes.

Sprache als Heimat is a phrase which Moses Rosenkranz did not adopt to describe his own writing but which is used here to investigate the meaning of language for him because of the frequent references in secondary literature to the Bukovina authors only having one *Heimat* left, that being the home of language. In *Versunkene Dichtung der Bukowina; Kulturlandschaft Bukowina*, which is the most extensive collection of poems from the Bukovina, the poet and literary historian Alfred Kittner concludes: 'Der Begriff Heimat konnte für die Dichter der Bukowina nur mit einem anderen Begriff, dem der Fremde gekoppelt, angewandt werden. In manchen ihrer Gedichte kehrt das Wort „Heimatsfremde“ wieder, ohne daß es der eine vom anderen abgeschrieben hätte. Ihnen ist die Heimat zur Fremde, die Fremde für eine Weile zur Heimat geworden. Ihre gemeinsame Heimat blieb die deutsche Sprache, in der sie schrieben'.⁸ In Kittner's statement the geographical *Heimat* becomes a contradiction in terms, whereas the language-*Heimat* remains unquestioned. Another example of this is in George Guţu's article 'Wort Landschaft als Heimat und Fremde': 'Die Sentenz Martin Heideggers „Die Sprache ist Haus des Seins“ könnte auch als Motto dieser Ausstellung fungieren. Denn alles Erlebte, Freude und Leid, Liebe und Tod, Bewunderung und Haß, will zur Sprache hin, das Da-Seiende drängt zur Kommunikation, entwickelt sich zu einer unverwechselbaren Wort-Landschaft'.⁹ The notion of 'language as a home' is found in other studies of exile writing: *Die Sprache als Heimat: jüdische Tradition und Exilerfahrung in der Lyrik von Nelly Sachs und Rose Ausländer* in which the poets' experience of language and exile are told, without the concept of a language-home as such being analysed in detail.¹⁰

Yet Moses Rosenkranz does refer to the phrase on one occasion, when writing an introduction to the works of Alfred Margul-Sperber, the poet and sponsor of many Bukovina poets: 'In dieser Sprache wirklich zu Hause sein, wenn es so etwas überhaupt gibt, können nur Engel

⁸ Alfred Kittner, in *Versunkene Dichtung der Bukowina; Kulturlandschaft Bukowina*, ed. by Amy Colin and Alfred Kittner, (Munich: Fink, 1994), p. 419.

⁹ George Guţu, 'Wort Landschaft als Heimat und Fremde', ZGR 1-2 (13-14)/1998, (Bucharest: Paideia), p. 403.

¹⁰ Claudia Beil, *Die Sprache als Heimat: jüdische Tradition und Exilerfahrung in der Lyrik von Nelly Sachs und Rose Ausländer*, (Munich: Tuduv, 1991).

oder Dämonen, Preisende oder Mitschaffende'.¹¹ Rosenkranz's familiarity with the idea of *Sprache als Heimat* is thus proven, as well as his reluctance to take the phrase at face value. He clearly saw himself as a 'Mitschaffende' however, as many of his poems address the necessity to write and his choice of the German language.

The Bukovina provides an ideal setting for asking what the claims about the nature of language in the twentieth century meant for those who were most intimately involved with words as a means of interpreting the systematised injustice that occurred. The relationship between language and belonging raises practical as well as philosophical questions. Both were examined in this study. The fact that Heidegger's understanding of *Heimat* did not seem to have been influenced by the mass homelessness caused by the Holocaust makes it difficult to use his thoughts on *Sprache als Heimat* for practical examples and the very lack of correlation between the concept and any practical implications marks a fissure between metaphorical and literal realities.

Heidegger's essays on language, especially those in *Unterwegs zur Sprache*, have been influential on the research on the intersecting aspects of poetry and philosophy. His own use of poetry in the search for a definition of the nature of language determined much of the discourse on the way words and *Heimat* define each other. It was he who first used the phrase *Sprache als Heimat* and 'die Sprache ist das Haus des Seins'.¹² His statements on home and language have become a point of reference for philosophical thought on the matter. Moses Rosenkranz's experience, as one who had few stable material homes, and his poems will be used in order to find out whether his individual construction of homes in writing corresponded to what Heidegger found to be true about belonging and language. The reason for choosing Rosenkranz and Heidegger together was that Rosenkranz was a poet who seemed to have related to language in a way that could test what Heidegger as a philosopher had constructed. The poetic and the philosophical edifices could then be compared in order to find out where they resembled each other and how they differed.

Heidegger, Ricœur and Lévinas were concerned with the nature of language itself, but within a safe context, even if their thoughts were profoundly affected by their experience of war. The self-reflexive aspect of using words in situations of extreme suffering must find some points of contention with the conclusions reached by those who thought about words in environments where there was no direct threat on their lives. The common ground between the poets and philosophers is where the characteristics of language and homes can be seen in

¹¹ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Briefe von Moses Rosenkranz an Alfred Margul-Sperber (1930-1963), ed. by George Guțu, *Zeitschrift der Germanisten Rumäniens* 1-2 (7-8)/ 1995, (Bucharest: Charne-Scott), p. 199.

¹² Martin Heidegger, *Über den Humanismus*, (Bern: Francke, 1947), p. 53.

their overlapping layers. In such an enterprise the thoughts about home and homelessness on an intellectual or philosophical level can exclude experience altogether. The aim therefore is to look at both the physical and the imagined homes, to see what they have to say to each other and to note where the construction in the mind causes pitfalls for the survival within the strangeness of everyday living.

As writers who call language their home often avoid mentioning physical homelessness, the metaphor can lead to many problems of interpretation for those trying to find out what kind of shelter words can offer. This was addressed by attempting to differentiate between the various types of loss and versions of community. The importance of language for those who survived became an explicit topic in the poems from the Bukovina, where writing was felt to be a means of re-affirming membership to a group of intellectuals who saw literature, music and philosophy as markers of culture.

For Moses Rosenkranz the act of writing was a source of inner strength during the ordeals of political injustice. His rather minimal experience of feeling at ease anywhere meant that his search for a niche within language was all the more urgent. German was not his mother tongue, yet like Conrad with English, he chose it as his means of expression. The destitution of his childhood years set him aside from the other Bukovina poets such as Celan, Ausländer or Kittner who had had a relatively comfortable childhood. Rosenkranz's writing emerged from the experience of severe poverty and the cruelty of war. His life and works provide an appropriate testing ground for the investigation of what *Sprache als Heimat* can mean in the life of a poet. This is an academic question in as far as it takes a much-used phrase and asks what its practical manifestations are.

A major temptation in the research on writers in exile is to fall back on purely biographical information without seeing what the author's text may be trying to express. Focusing on Rosenkranz's biography helped to pinpoint the location of the way language helped him to stitch together a network of belonging, but in order to avoid a purely biographical interpretation of *Sprache als Heimat* I will use Rosenkranz's poems about language to attempt to illustrate what writing meant for him.

In the first chapter of this study the focus will be on the relationships that shaped Rosenkranz's sense of home, whether they were with his family, nature, books or friends. This section concentrates on two most basic kinds of adherence: the geographical location and the immediate family. Within the context of the Bukovina's history the personal story of Rosenkranz's life found itself entangled in dynamics which were not propitious for personal or for literary development. These initial unfavourable conditions were then made more

severe until almost all forms of reassurance were absent from his life. *Heimat* in Rosenkranz's case did not begin with much stability, yet to look at what was there before the loss inflicted by the Holocaust provides a deeper understanding of his personal relationship to words and social groupings. The actual absence of what could be called a trusted *Heimat* points even more clearly to the need for the creation of an ontological mode of security which does not necessarily seek to re-install former comfort, but to establish it for a first time.

In the context of the Holocaust *Sprache als Heimat* already implies loss. This significant difference in the degree of possession, between someone who has not experienced the loss of territory and language on this scale and someone who has, must be considered when thinking about *Sprache als Heimat* as a phrase that Heidegger used after the second world war. In the midst of loss, one can see how language is used to come to terms with the new reality. The second section of this study addresses some of the impacts of loss and the way it affects one's relationship to time, to people and to language. The poems dealing with loss give information ex-negativo about the meaning of *Heimat* and words. Indeed the experience of loss may have been what brought forth the metaphor of *Sprache als Heimat* in the first place. The loss of the subject in writing is where Heidegger's understanding of *Sprache als Heimat* contrasts most sharply with the experience of the Bukovina authors. This is where the question arises of whether or not the lack of a grammatical subject affects the way of seeing the material home. The tendency to avoid the tangible reality of language and home was challenged by the writings of Améry which are examined later on in the study.

The absence of the individual as seen in the lack of subject in a text and the lack of home on the ground led many authors to feel that words were an inadequate means of expression. Silence became a literary form and an expression of homelessness, but paradoxically also of belonging. Silence can be a seductive, but also a potentially treacherous means of communication. The relationships that silence can create or destroy are a hidden part of language's broader capacity to allow community to emerge.

The expression of being 'behaust im Wort', as used by Alfred Kittner is a metaphor which immediately brings to mind the realities of a world reconstructed in language. The third section examines the ways in which writing helps to restore justice, to remake community and allow the presence of the other to enter the language-home. The way the reconstruction took place then gives answers to the truth and limitations of the metaphor of *Sprache als Heimat*. Yet the slippery ground of metaphorical phrases such as *Sprache als Heimat* throughout this study needed analysing before the rebuilding could be analysed. There are many layers of figurative speech implicit in both 'language' and 'home' and examining what happens in the shift of register from the literal to the metaphorical helps to show what is relevant in practical

terms when the expression *Sprache als Heimat* is the main definition of belonging. Language, which had been seen as the reflection of experience, shifted its position in the course of the philosophy of language to be seen as the constitutive element of reality. We will look more closely at the effect this has on the metaphor in order to sift the literal from the metaphorical and give a clearer sense of what was a mental support, which may have alleviated the psychological heaviness of homelessness, but not necessarily have made a material difference. In this section the thoughts of Paul Ricœur, Jean Améry and Primo Levi provide a helpful web of ideas which strengthen the visibility of the connections between the theoretical and the practical results of different approaches to writing.

Among the many works on metaphor theory, Ricoeur's *Métaphore Vive* was chosen as the most significant because of his approach of combining the philosophical with the literary in order to try to understand what is relevant in language. The lines between the literal and the figure of speech have long been the concern of those investigating the nature of metaphor and Ricoeur's particular interest in the way language and action relate to each other made him an appropriate choice for the closer observation of what happens within a metaphor.

Jean Améry has become an authority on the literalism of suffering, of 'taking words in their usual or primary sense and applying the ordinary rules of grammar, without mysticism or allegory or metaphor'.¹³ His very clear accounts (out) of what was inflicted by whom and on whom, his sense of the way rhetoric can be used to dodge personal responsibility and his refusal to be duped by any positive uses of suffering makes him a necessary part of the search for language's potential to construct homes. In his refutation of Heidegger he clinches the main contradictions of using words to disguise the actual suffering of individuals. In a similar way the clarity of Primo Levi's thoughts and his untainted faith in the validity of writing offered a strong contrast to the writings of Celan, but found parallels in the writings of poets such as Kittner, Weißglas and Rosenkranz.

The reconstruction of homes leads to the question of where the last dwelling will be, and thus to the metaphysical homes. In a Judao-Christian understanding this means the restoration of justice and the return to the Creator. The way this relates to the act of writing is examined as part of the section on rebuilding of homes. In a religious context the question of a language sanctuary finds its expression in the comparison between the meaning of words with a small 'w' and the Word with a capital 'W'. What is it that changes the case? How do words call reality forth? Which words help to escape from it? The need to re-establish an order in which there is justice seemed to be a compelling reason for writing and the activity itself turned into

¹³ The Concise Oxford Dictionary, entry: 'literal' (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), p. 710.

a creed, yet a creed with no definite articles of faith. This transition from a merely important activity in the life of a writer to one which is the essence of his or her identity brings out a deeper reality of language's role in shaping identity. Translated into secular terms the search for heaven can be seen in the desire to restore the balance of justice. Seamus Heaney is particularly incisive in his remarks on this being a major reason for writing. His series of lectures entitled *The Redress of Poetry* offers important insights into the role of poetry when individuals and societies are confronted with injustice.¹⁴ When poets express their creed in prose they often extol the need for poetry as one way of restoring the beauty and order that has been lost and thus Heaney's reflections contribute to a better understanding of why Rosenkranz and others continued to write when under duress.

On a larger European scale other poets have fought the same battle of using words to defend moral integrity and to provide a shelter for the vulnerable. Thus the voices of Mandelstam, Akhmatova and Brodsky echo a similar need to write in times of great injustice and to establish an acoustic space which provides comfort and relief. This 'community' of poets, spread as they were across countries and time has resulted in a common approach to the questioning of the role of words, to their importance in philosophical discourse and in everyday life. The similarities between the Soviet and Nazi forms of totalitarianism and their effects on language meant that a dialogue between those who suffered under either system was useful for finding the common reactions to the relationship to language.

It is not the intention of this work to make a claim for the greatness of Rosenkranz's writing. As a minor poet, he provides one with invaluable knowledge about the worth of communication in times when poetry may have seemed like a futile activity. Rosenkranz convincingly bears witness to the way the act of writing was a source of inner strength. What is important when first encountering his works is the question that T.S. Eliot asks in his essay 'What is Minor Poetry?': 'The most that I should venture to commit myself to, about the work of any living poet when I met it for the first time, is whether this is genuine poetry or not.'¹⁵ The genuineness of Rosenkranz's poetry and his utter dedication to the art offer a particularly rich source for the observation of language's role in forming a structure of social adhesion. The reinstatement of the subject, the concentration on the individual addressed as the main location of belonging, the way the *Sprache als Heimat* theme is viewed by other writers—these are the main points in the final chapter. This part draws in the findings of Lévinas to illuminate how the person addressed when writing verse is a necessary part of forming the

¹⁴ Seamus Heaney, 'The Redress of Poetry' in *Finders Keepers: Selected Prose 1971-2001*, (London: faber and faber, 2002).

¹⁵ T.S. Eliot, 'What is minor poetry?' in *On Poetry and Poets*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1975), p. 48.

community which becomes a type of *Heimat*. The reinstated subject is not a figure in parentheses but rather the strongest element of the *Heimat* that poetry may offer.

Part 1: The Bukovina *Heimat*

The Bukovina as a literary space

At the beginning of the twentieth century Czernovitz became a literary centre in the same way as other towns, in certain periods of history, became famous for music or paintings. In this way it resembles Odessa which brought forth Nathan Milstein and David Oistrach, or Vitebsk in Belarus, the hometown of Chagall and Malevich. Three factors can account for the way in which the area's history lent itself to a proliferation of writers: the press, the defence of the German language against Romanian and the versatility of writers who, due to political structures, needed to become fluent in several languages.

When Major General Gabriel Spleny crossed the Galician-Polish border in 1774 with three cavalry regiments and five infantry battalions the Bukovina was a sparsely populated region without any infrastructure for health care, very few legal structures. It lacked a proper water supply and its roads were badly neglected. Illiteracy was wide-spread, even amongst the rich, as there were very few schools. Many Moldavians (Romanians), Jews, Gypsies, Armenians, Hungarians, and migrants from Galicia had come to settle in the area, often fleeing Polish and Ottoman feudal oppression. At the end of the eighteenth century there were only a few hundred people living in Czernovitz. In 1786 the Bukovina became part of the crown-land Galicia with the openly anti-Semitic General Enzenberg as the head of the most Jewish crown land of the Habsburg monarchy.¹⁶

The *Lateinisches Gymnasium* was founded in 1808 and the university in 1875 to commemorate 100 years of Austrian presence in the region. Jews came to Czernovitz from other parts of the monarchy because of the Tolerance Patent which granted Jews a new degree of protection. In 1848 the Bukovina was separated from Galicia and became a crown land of its own and many people from Eastern Europe came to live in the region: 'With its policy of religious toleration and a relaxation of feudal obligations, Bukovina served as a magnet for many and varied ethnic groups in Eastern Europe. Thus, early in the Austrian period, Bukovina assumed its multinational character, earning it the appellation of 'Europe in miniature'.¹⁷ German became the most important language in the region thanks to the Schwaben, who were mostly Protestant farmers from the south-western part of Germany, to the Zipser, Protestants from the mountains of Romania, to the Deutschböhmen, Catholics

¹⁶ See Hannes Hofbauer, *Bukowina, Bessarabien, Moldawien*, (Vienna: Promedia, 1997), p. 30.

¹⁷ <http://www.zoglauer.us/Welisch-2002-1.html>, [accessed 8 September 2008].

from Northern and Western Bohemia, and also due to the civil servants and manual workers from the rest of the monarchy.¹⁸

The German speaking culture was encouraged by the Habsburgs, as it strengthened their hold on the region.

So wurde Czernowitz tatsächlich ein Zentrum der deutschen Kultur, die sich hauptsächlich auf eine assimilierte jüdische Intelligenz stützte, auf welche sich die Regierung verlassen konnte, weil die Juden keine nationalen Ambitionen hatten und es nicht ihre Absicht war, sich von der österreichischen Krone loszureißen, wozu sich die Polen, die Tschechen und auch die Rumänen in der Bukowina bereits anschickten.¹⁹

The institutions such as schools, theatres, churches, synagogues and the university, which were modelled on similar ones in Vienna, helped to solidify the status of the German language and ensured that the culture would develop in a unified way throughout the empire.²⁰

By the end of the nineteenth century many intellectuals felt the Bukovina should take on a more prominent role in the rest of the German speaking world as a region where significant literature was being written. In 1870 Karl Emil Franzos, the great champion of Bukovina journalism, wrote the following in his introduction to the *Buchenblätter* journal:

Was nun die Absicht betrifft, welche den Herausgeber zur Veröffentlichung der nachfolgenden belletristischen Erzeugnisse bestimmte, muß Folgendes bemerkt werden: Es that ihm oft genug in tiefster Seele weh, wahrnehmen zu müssen, wie blutwenig sich der 'deutsche Dichterwald' um seine Pioniere im Osten kümmere. Wer sollte wol [sic.] auch in der Bukowina, dem fernen, wenig gekannten, ja vielverrufenen 'Bärenlande' deutsche Poeten vermuten?²¹

From being a merely administrative language in the eighteenth century, German became the language of poetry in the twentieth. Franzos, who was more of an admirer of Prussia than of Austria, saw German culture and education as an integrating force for the many nationalities in the Bukovina, but also felt that what was happening there should also be noticed in the rest

¹⁸ Kurt Rein, 'Czernowitz', *Zwischenwelt*, (July 2000), p. 20.

¹⁹ Alexander Spiegelblatt, 'Bemerkungen zu Itzik Mangers Czernowitzer Umfeld', in *Zwischenwelt : Jiddische Kultur und Literatur aus Österreich*, (Vienna: Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, 2003), p. 132.

²⁰ Ilona Slawinski, *Die Bukowina: Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. by Joseph Strelka, (Bern, Vienna: Peter Lang, 1995), p. 42.

²¹ Karl Emil Franzos, *Buchenblätter*, (Czernowitz: Buchowiecki & Comy, 1870).

of the German speaking world.²² Already at this stage the writers from the Bukovina had a sense of regional pride when it came to their contribution to what was being written in German. The golden age of poetry had begun with an intense period of journalism in the region. Newspapers and journals were the definers of taste; Martin Pollack describes Czernovitz as a town where Jews would rather quote from the *Neue Freie Presse* than out of the Holy Book.²³ This is an important indicator of the accessibility of different types of journalism. At a time when the German language was the main framework for the Jews living in Czernovitz, the distance to the rest of the German speaking world was more easily bridged by the press than by the railway. *Heimat* was already to be found more readily on paper than in a particular geographical area. Pollack comments that newspapers became the very means which held people together and made them feel they belonged together:

Die Czernowitzer waren geradezu fanatische Zeitungsleser. Die Lektüre der großen Wiener, Prager und Lemberger Blätter half ihnen, das Gefühl der Abgeschlossenheit zu überwinden, das sich in diesem entlegenen Winkel des Habsburgerreiches, der mit der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien durch keine direkte Bahnlinie verbunden war, nur zu leicht einstellen konnte. Diese Liebe zur Zeitung trug in Czernowitz sichtbare Früchte: hier erschienen wahrscheinlich mehr Blätter als in irgendeiner anderen österreichischen Stadt vergleichbarer Größe. Und jeder Lokalredakteur war ein Dichter, jeder kleine Bericht aus dem Alltag geriet zum literarischen Feuilleton.²⁴

The *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* was being published in the 1920s, as were the *Tagespost* and *Heimat*. In 1932 the *Buchenblätter* that Karl Emil Franzos had already published in 1870 began to reappear. The *Czernowitzer Morgenblatt*, *Bukowiner Rundschau*, *Vorwärts*, *Ziel*, and Karl Kraus's *Fackel* were still being sold in 1940. The Justus Liebig University of Giessen lists nineteen newspapers published in German from 1919 to 1935 in Czernovitz.²⁵ Even if some of these publications only lasted for a few years, they are nonetheless proof of how much interest there was in various forms of contemporary German writing, at a time when the official language in Czernovitz was Romanian. The literary activities in the German speaking world forged the very identity of those who read the Czernovitz press. Journalism was not just imported; it had become a passion in Czernovitz.

Yiddish was also gaining influence as a literary language at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first international conference on Yiddish took place in 1908 in Czernovitz,

²² Klaus Werner, Introduction of *Fäden Ins Nichts Gespannt*, (Frankfurt: Insel), 1998, p. 8.

²³ Martin Pollack, *Galizien*, (Frankfurt und Leipzig: Insel, 2001), p. 156.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 168.

²⁵ <http://www.uni-giessen.de/zeitungen/laender.php#Ukraine> [accessed 5 January 2006].

organised by the linguist Nathan Birnbaum and Dr Diamant, who was later deported to Siberia.²⁶ Birnbaum made an emotional plea for the defence and the valorisation of the language, which he argued was much more flexible and dynamic than languages with fixed spelling and grammar rules. Speaking Yiddish was to mark one's identity as part of the Jewish population and Edith Silbermann, a school friend of Paul Celan's and Margit Bartfeld-Feller, who like Rosenkranz survived both the Holocaust and the Gulags, both recall how they were told not to 'jideln' at school.²⁷ Many thought Yiddish was undignified, but Itzik Manger, who had extensive knowledge about poetry of various languages and periods, and who wrote memorable poems himself, remains proof of the contrary.²⁸

The First World War saw Czernovitz become the front line of battle between Russia and Austria and for several years the front moved back and forth, so that the inhabitants of Czernovitz often had enemy troops living in their own homes. When, at the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1919 the Bukovina became part of Romania the consequence was that Romanian became the main teaching language in schools and at the university. Many Jewish teachers were forced to leave their teaching jobs. Street names changed and became Romanian. Children were required to speak Romanian at school and there was clearly rivalry between the different groups during the inter-war period. The new government was not popular with the German speaking authors, especially as extreme poverty, as well as police and military violence, became more common. Within five years there was huge inflation.

Not only was there increased economic instability, culture clashes also became more frequent. In 1921 Romanian students sabotaged a performance of Schiller's *Die Räuber* in the Stadttheater in Czernovitz. They later removed the bust of Schiller that had been in front of the theatre. After this incident German plays had to be performed either in the *Musikverein* or in the *Deutsches Haus*. Conflicts between the nationalities were rife and the fight for cultural supremacy predominated over interest in artistic production and exchange.

During the interwar period one after another of the German cultural institutions succumbed to various degrees of Romanianization, including the university and the provincial theatre in Bukovina's capital of Czernovitz, as well as the bureaucracy, the press and the public school system. [...] After 1918 no German could be nominated as village mayor nor was representation on the village council based on ethnic proportionality. As a result, German influence in local affairs was virtually

²⁶ Gerald Stourzh, 'Galten die Juden als Nationalität Altösterreichs?', (Eisenstadt: Studia Judaica Austriaca, roetzer, 1994), p. 74.

²⁷ Edith Silbermann, *Zwischenwelt*, (July 2000), p. 44.

²⁸ Alexander Spiegelblatt, 'Bemerkungen zu Itzik Mangers Czernowitzer Umfeld', in *Zwischenwelt: Jiddische Kultur und Literatur aus Österreich*, (Vienna: Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, 2003), p. 136.

extinguished with the Germans systematically removed from positions in the civil service and in education.²⁹

The most eloquent expression of the tensions in city life can be found in the expressionist review *Der Nerv*, which was mainly written by 20-23 year-olds and published by the poet and journalist Albert Maurüber.³⁰ The journal served as a forum for the genres of literature that did not appear in the other newspapers: poems, short stories, satires, and the kind of criticism otherwise found in Karl Kraus's *Fackel*. Many young people wanted to vent their frustration about the political upheavals by writing articles and *Der Nerv* became the main forum to voice the anger and anxiety that many felt about the changes taking place. Many people were still loyal to the Austrian monarchy which no longer controlled the region and using German was one way of retaining other cultural references. At a time when so many newspapers were being published, many felt the need to write in order to prove their excellence in a particular genre. This led to a certain degree of ambition and competition between the writers.

The passion for the written word was very much related to the wish of those living in the Bukovina to belong to the larger German speaking world, even and especially after part of the Bukovina became Romanian. This turn to the past and the nostalgia that accompanies it has remained a notable feature of texts from the Bukovina. It remains a characteristic of the writing of the German language poets from the beginning of the twentieth century. Literary activity was both a way of staying in contact with the outside world and of affirming one's own cultural identity.

Peter Rychlo's studies show that there had been a fruitful exchange between Ukrainian and German until the last quarter of the nineteenth century but that afterwards German became a language that had to be defended:

War früher die deutsche Sprache, in der diese Autoren schrieben, in allen Sphären des gesellschaftlichen Lebens dominierend, so verwandelte sie sich jetzt auf einmal in die Sprache in einer nationalen Minderheit, die einen harten Kampf um ihre Existenz gegen den starken Rumänisierungsdruck führen mußte.³¹

²⁹ Sophie Wellish, *The History of the Bukovina*, March 2002, <http://www.zoglauer.us/Welisch-2002-1.html>

³⁰ *Der Nerv: Eine expressionistische Zeitschrift aus Czernowitz*, republished and edited by Herbert Wiesner, (Berlin: Literaturhaus, 1997), p. 265.

³¹ Peter Rychlo, 'Ukrainische Motive in der deutschsprachigen Literatur der Bukowina', *Zwischenwelt*, (July 2000), p. 32.

Nevertheless, many of the intellectual Jews continued to write in German. This new trait of keeping German as the language for writing was to remain a part of the Jewish mentality in Czernovitz until long after the Second World War.

Until the end of the 1930s one could still buy German books in the stores in Czernovitz, which were mainly owned by German-speaking Jews. Even the Zionist fraternities such as *Hasomir*, *Hasmoniäa* and *Hebronia* spoke German among themselves. Yet the eradication of German that the Romanians had tried so hard to achieve was forcefully imposed overnight by the Russians. After the Soviet invasion in 1940 nothing more was published in German.³²

The repeated change of ruling powers and the politicians' insistence on rapid transitions meant that people were forced to learn Romanian and Russian quickly. The alternative was to be punished, either physically or by being socially excluded. Learning the new language was necessary for anyone who wanted to have a chance on the job market. Yet although the injustice of forcing people to stop using their mother tongue caused great damage, it also induced the authors from the region to become more creative in their use of the various languages. A mutual enrichment from one to the other took place, as can be seen in Rosenkranz's essays on Romanian verse and his translations of Romanian folk songs carried out in the 1930s.³³ The variety of German, Romanian, Ruthenian, Polish and Russian meant that many writers could profit from their knowledge of the literature in the other language. This in itself led to experiments and new ideas in writing, just as having technical skills on a musical instrument gives the player more options for interpretation. Many poets from the Bukovina did work as translators, which provided a reasonable income, and also gave them the tools for improving their own writing. The work provided them with a context for comparison and expanded their awareness of linguistic possibilities. So although the imposed versatility had political origins, the authors subverted them by using their newly acquired knowledge for their own interests. This was a way of using the language of a hostile system in order to express one's own thoughts about it, thereby affirming one's dignity and independence. The friction of one language with another was beneficial for the writing of poets as different as Celan and Rosenkranz. It opened new possibilities for verbal virtuosity, exchanging traditions, rediscovering word origins, offsetting grammar.

When the Red Army marched into Czernovitz in June 1940 the first thing that the Russians did was to confiscate paper and enforce Russian as the region's next official language.

³² Edith Silbermann, 'Deutsch: die Muttersprache der meisten Juden', in *An der Zeiten Ränder*, ed. by Cécile Cordon and Helmut Kusdat, (Vienna: Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, 2002), p. 40.

³³ Moses Rosenkranz, Leo Baeck Collection, AR 25087, Reel 3, frames 439 to 553.

Rosenkranz in his autobiography recalls how his grandfather was strongly against the Russians and loyal to Austria:

Jener Staat, den er ein Völkerinternat mit Habsburg als Schaltmeister nannte, galt ihm für kulturnotwendig und ehrenwert im Gegensatz zu dessen slawischen Nachbargroßreich, das er gesenkten Tons als Völkergefängnis bezeichnete. Mit denselben Worten hörte ich drei Jahre später im Elternhaus einkehrende Russen ihr Vaterland bezeichnen, während sie bei uns gesehene österreichische Staatlichkeit, neidvoll-staunend, "geradezu väterlich" nannten'.³⁴

This loyalty to Austria is found in many of the memoirs of those who grew up in Czernovitz at the beginning of the 20th century.

On 13 July 1941, 3800 people from the Bukovina were deported to Siberia; 70% of them Jews. In 1941 the Germans attacked the Soviet Union and Romania. In Czernovitz the Red Army was replaced by German-Romanian troops, who bombed the Czernovitz airport, the train station and the bridges, killing more than 3000 Jews within the first few days of their arrival. On 7 July 1941 the Romanians and the German SS burned the Jewish temple. They arrested, tortured and executed the rabbi, the cantor and other members of the Jewish community. By the end of August that year they had killed 3106 Jews.³⁵ In October and November 1941 more than 10,000 Jews were forced into a ghetto consisting of only a few streets. The widow of the chief rabbi of Czernovitz, Mrs. Perla Mark, during the Eichmann trial Session No. 48 on 23 May 1961 recalled the events:

You can imagine what it was like when the inhabitants of an entire town were put in two streets, which had been evacuated for the purpose. People lay on the floor, outside on the balconies - everywhere...[...] The next day they brought some barrels of petrol and oil into the synagogue and set fire to it. They threw the sixty Scrolls of the Law into the flames and led my husband up from the cellar to the roof of that building - which was opposite the synagogue - and showed him: 'Look, there's your synagogue burning'.³⁶

This event marked the most thorough destruction of the home of what was sacred to the Jewish people. It would only be the beginning of a gradual removal of all the material forms

³⁴ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, (Aachen: Rimbaud, 2001), p.20.

³⁵ Dietmar Goltschingg, *Internationale Tagung Die Deutschsprachige Literatur der Bukowina* 1987, Graz: Die Bukowina: Studien zu einer versunkenen Literaturlandschaft; [Berichte der Internationalen Tagung "Die Deutschsprachige Literatur der Bukowina", Institut für Germanistik der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 4. - 7. October 1987] 2nd edn. (Tübingen: Francke, 1991), p. 283.

³⁶ The Trial of Adolf Eichmann, District Court Sessions, Volume II, session 48: www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/e/eichmann-adolf/transcripts/Sessions/Session-048-01.html. [accessed: 9 January 2005].

of home. An estimated 150,000 Jews from the Bukovina were deported to Transnistria, to the east of the river Dniestr, in the western part of the Ukraine, now Moldavia. Here, between the rivers Dniestr and Bug, 90,000 thousands of Jews died of starvation and sickness.³⁷ Out of the 55,000 Jews who lived in Czernovitz before the Second World War only about 18,000 survived.

After the Second World War the Bukovina was divided. The south became Romanian, the north (the Czernovitz district) became part of the Ukrainian faction of the Soviet Union, governed by Kiev; the east, which had been Roman Catholic came under the direct government of Moscow. In 1945 the poets who had lived in Czernovitz and who had survived the war were dispersed all over the world. Many escaped to Bucharest, some to America, others to Israel, or West Germany, where several, including Rose Ausländer, chose to live in Düsseldorf. Rosenkranz was living in Bucharest when he was deported to Siberia in 1947.

The Bukovina, which in many ways seems to have experienced a turbulent succession of different political systems, has also gone down in history as a place in which different ethnic groups lived peacefully side by side, as will be explored in the next chapter. The change of rule did lead to a continual re-reading of the realities of the past, so that in the search for what constituted identity there was a continual revision of how the various groups had lived together. This was done to such an extent that entire myths resulted from the re-visiting of the past. This making of myths is worth looking at more closely in order to see what light it sheds on the difference between reality on the ground and that in the mind.

³⁷ <http://isurvived.org/Transnistria.html>, [Accessed 18 August 2008].

The myth of the Bukovina

The Bukovina, with its tragic history, has now become a magical name for those looking for a model for multicultural harmony. It has gained the resonance of being a region full of creativity, where there had been an unusually fruitful exchange of ideas between the various linguistic groups. This image of the Bukovina as a model for modern Europe can be found in Amy Colin's introduction to the 'Versunkene Dichtung', in Klaus Werner's conclusion to his article about the Bukovina³⁸, or on the homepage of the Bukowina Institut in Augsburg among other places:

hat doch dieser Landstrich mit der Vielfalt seiner Völker und der Ökumene seiner Religionen unendlich dazu beigetragen, daß es zu einem Geist der Aussöhnung zwischen westlichen und östlichen Völkern und Konfessionen gekommen ist. Das Buchenland war und ist somit eine echte Europabrücke.³⁹

This perspective shows the Bukovina as an ideal of mutual understanding between people, a model for civilised behaviour among different ethnic groups, as an example of productive diversity, 'eine Art Symbol für das Zusammenleben verschiedener Ethnien',⁴⁰ 'eine Stadt, wo einst verschiedene Kulturen, Ethnien und Konfessionen jahrhundertlang friedlich koexistiert hatten, die selbst dem heutigen Europa als Beispiel für Toleranz dienen kann'.⁴¹

The Bukovina continues to be inspiring long after the period that produced so much lyrical writing. While this image of the Bukovina is easy to understand, it hides some of the more sinister episodes of the history of the region. Theo Buck, a Celan specialist, considered it fatal to idealise the Bukovina: 'Doch wäre es ein fataler Irrtum, in der Bukowiner Wirklichkeit kurzerhand eine Idylle zu sehen'.⁴² As it has gradually become clear that the literary memory of the area differs from the historical facts, research is currently being conducted to see where the discrepancies occurred. One example is the project being conducted by Markus Winkler on the press in Czernovitz from 1918 to 1940. His proposal is to investigate the thesis that far from the prevailing and idealised picture of harmonious co-existence between diverse linguistic, religious and ethnic groups in inter-war Czernovitz, the community was in fact

³⁸ Klaus Werner, in *Literatur und Kritik*, May 2001, (Salzburg: Otto Müller), p. 48.

³⁹ <http://home.t-online.de/home/bukinst/vorstell.htm>
[Accessed: 31 January 2008]

⁴⁰ Harald Heppner, (editor): *Czernowitz, Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt*, (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2000).

⁴¹ Ihor Czechowskyj, 'Das "Czernowitzer Schiff": Unter dem Segel der Toleranz in ein vereintes Europa', in *An der Zeiten Ränder*, p. 361.

⁴² Theo Buck, in *Aschenzeit* by Immanuel Weißglas, (Aachen: Rimbaud, 1994), p. 129.

divided by heated ideological and religious conflicts, which contributed in no small measure to its remarkable cultural dynamism.

The Bukovina has come to represent an area where Romanians, Jews, Germans, Poles, Ukrainians and Russians lived peacefully before the Holocaust. This theme repeats itself in the various recollections of the area, whether in the anecdotes of people from Czernovitz, or in the texts written about the region. Many people could speak four or five languages and were proud of being able to do so and many of the poets wrote in at least three languages.

Ausländer's euphoric verse about her homeland has often been quoted and repeated as if it were a token of proof of the Bukovina serenity:

Viersprachig
verbrüdete Lieder
in entzweiter Zeit⁴³

Much notice has been taken of the 'verbrüdete Lieder' and not so much of the 'entzweiter Zeit' which began earlier than the Holocaust. The First World War, when Czernovitz was on the front and invaded by Russian and Austrian soldiers alternatively was a particularly difficult period. The end of the War brought with it the Romanian phase, marked by drastic changes for the Jewish population:

Diese (vehement einsetzenden Romanisierung nach 1919) richtete sich als erstes gegen die Universität, an der nur mehr vier von den einst 39 österreichischen Professoren im Amte blieben. Da an ihr die gut situierten Juden die überwiegende Zahl der deutsch(sprachig)en Studenten – und sehr zahlreichen Studentenkorporationen – ausmachten, wurden auch diese mehr oder minder gewaltsam zurückgedrängt, und sogar ein numerus iudaicus eingeführt, der die Chancen der ‚echten‘ oder „Blutrumänen“ verbessern sollte.⁴⁴

Many memories from Jewish people now living in Israel confirm the fact that Czernovitz before the Second World War was not an idyllic setting: 'Das Zusammenleben bis Hitler war unter Umständen möglich. Auf der Universität nicht. Die Universität war sehr antisemitisch und man hat die Studenten geschlagen und herausgeworfen. Das war sehr schlimm'.⁴⁵

The Romanian period between the two world wars was not a comfortable time for Jews, as Mariana Hausleitner shows in her article about the Romanian period of the Bukovina:

⁴³ Rose Ausländer, 'Bukowina', in *Fäden ins Nichts*, p. 115, lines 1-4.

⁴⁴ Kurt Rein, 'Czernowitz' in *Zwischenwelt*, (Vienna: Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, July 2000), p. 21.

⁴⁵ *Zwischen Pruth und Jordan: Lebenserinnerungen Czernowitzer Juden*, p. 13.

‘Ausschreitungen und Brandschläge auf jüdische Wohnhäuser waren Anfang der dreißiger Jahre in der Bukowina bereits ständig auf der Tagesordnung’.⁴⁶ Many Jews emigrated to Vienna, Prague or Berlin.

Rather than being content with the simplified view of the Bukovina as a peaceful region before the Second World War, it is more rewarding to look at the creativity resulting from the rivalry between the various ethnic groups that makes the region so fascinating. Although efforts are being made to demythologise the area, what remains most interesting is the self-identity of the Bukovina inhabitants who saw themselves as a diverse but unified people. The re-interpretation of the often violent historical facts is part of the reconstruction of home. It is to insert the elements of safety and comfort into the past so that the text about the Bukovina becomes a *Heimat*.

One can comprehend the idealisation of the past better when looking at the internal constellation of some of the groups. Part of the reason why the myth survives and is fostered is because of the unusual intellectual challenges that many of the youth faced. The Zionist groups in the Bukovina were well organised and in some areas the organisations gave the youth more of an education than the schools could offer. In the memoirs of those who lived in the Bukovina one finds that the youth encouraged each other by their choices of books and their enthusiasm about cultural issues. *Hashomer Zair* or the *Hasmonäa* founded in 1891 and the other Jewish or Zionist groups provided a political basis for strong social and intellectual relationships, as they do in Vienna now. There was stimulating intellectual activity in spite of the difficulties caused between the different ethnic groups. ‘Es war für uns eine außerordentlich rege Zeit. Das Innenleben erfuhr eine enorme Steigerung, ohne daß der jugendliche Sang und Klang Einbuße erlitt. Es wurde musiziert und Gedichte wurden vorgetragen’.⁴⁷ The discomfort of political life and of different groups living next to each other produced the excitement of intellectual activity, which was also encouraged by the sense of having to form and defend their own particular identity. The coming together of groups where solidarity developed among the members was a way of creating community when it was politically threatened.

In the Communist period the Bukovina was more or less forgotten by the West and only in the last ten years has there been an increase of visitors to the region. For Austrians now Czernovitz exerts a powerful attraction, as a city of lost lore. Visitors write of the sense of

⁴⁶ Mariana Hausleitner, ‘Rumänisierung der Bukowina zwischen 1918 und 1944’, *Zwischenwelt*, (Vienna: Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, July 2000), p. 37.

⁴⁷ Eli Rottner ([d. i.] Edward Rudnicki), *Das ethische Seminar in Czernowitz. Die Wiege des Internat.* Constantin-Brunner-Kreises, (Dortmund: Rudnicki, 1973), p. 43.

familiarity they experience when visiting the city: 'Wir fanden in Czernowitz eine vertraut wirkende österreichische Stadt, einen Bahnhofsbau, wie es ihn früher auch in Klagenfurt und in Villach gab, ein Theater wie das Klagenfurter, eine Herrengasse, die an die Radetzkystraße in der Kärntner Landeshauptstadt erinnert.'⁴⁸ More and more people are visiting the area, although access to the Ukraine continues to be difficult. The number of organisations of people from the Bukovina across the world bears witness to their attachment to their home country and of the attempt to keep the memory of it alive, among these: *The Bukovina Society of the Americas* and *Die Welt Assoziation der Bukowiner Juden* who publish the newspaper written by and for the Jews from the Bukovina living in Israel *Die Stimme*, which has been in circulation for 59 years. Every year study trips are organised by groups such as *kukuruz* or the *Katholischer Akademiker Verband* in Vienna to visit the old cities of the Austrian Empire.

The Bukovina is becoming a research topic of its own within the broader subject of German-Jewish literature. Large audiences can be expected in Vienna when there are lectures, conferences or readings about the region. Exhibitions are organised such as *Spurensuche: Czernowitz und die Bukowina einst und jetzt*, by the Lower Austrian Province (3 June-29 October 2000), Volker Koepp's film 'Dieses Jahr in Czernowitz' (2004) or Paul Rosdy's 'Neue Welt' (2005) express the same fascination with the legends of the area. This nostalgia has been nurtured by the last survivors from the Austrian period, such as the famous Yiddish author from Czernovitz, Josef Burg. Excellent research conducted by specialists such as Helmut Kusdat or Cécile Cordon and the many recently published books from the Rimbaud Verlag in Aachen have also awakened the memories of a forgotten part of the monarchy. The region seems to call forth a certain longing to recapture some of the positive aspects of the Austrian Empire.

What is raised in all the publications about the area is the question of home and identity. The theme of losing and recreating different forms of identity seems to be a part of what is so attractive about the Bukovina and its poets. The contradictions within the self-perception of those from the Bukovina partly result from the mixture of pride and humiliation that they experienced in the shifting systems. The fact that their standards of education were high, that they could speak several languages and that they felt themselves attached to a great culture led them to see themselves as the intellectual élite in the midst of a rural environment: 'Die Befragten sehen Czernowitz als Kulturinsel innerhalb einer wenig entwickelten bäuerlichen

⁴⁸Claudia Fräss-Ehrfeld, (ed.), *Kärnten und die Bukowina*, (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten, 2002), p. 8.

Gegend und sich selbst als Träger dieser Sonderentwicklung'.⁴⁹ To be the bearers of a rich cultural heritage is part of the unusual self-image of the writers from this region.

The knowledge of the disappearance of this identity contributes to the insistence on its reality in the past. This sense of *Heimat* as a myth is one in which the stories and the collective memory are recreated on paper, and consequently in the minds of the readers. That which is self-explanatory and natural does not become a theme as quickly as that which one longs for and is gone. The literary texts, and especially the poems, were often the result of a conscious choice to maintain the innocence of the love of a country which was being threatened by nationalistic groups. As Klaus Werner remarks: 'Diese Dichtung wollte ein Fluchtpunkt der Bewahrung sein, trostsüchtiges romantisches Herzland, und sie wollte es sehenden Auges sein, war sie doch mittelbar dem in Deutschland etablierten und unmittelbar dem in Rumänien heraufziehenden Faschismus konfrontiert'.⁵⁰ Poetry was one way of commenting on political development as well as an emotional refuge. Poetry was therefore a personal witness to another reality than the political. It remained external to the appropriation of the various nationalities making claims on it. Thus the Bukovina poets were influenced by the many literary cultures around them without succumbing to the temptation of claiming that one was superior to the other.

Der Gedanke scheint unerschütterlich, die Historiographie sei die Sklavin der Politik und müsse in dieser Eigenschaft einer "rumänischen", "ukrainischen", "deutschen", "russischen" usw. Sache, Partei oder Ideologie dienen. Diese Einstellung führte in der Historiographie der Bukowina zur Entstehung bzw. Fortdauer mythisierender Schriften, Übertreibungen, Auslassungen und Entstellungen, die die Vergangenheit dieser historischen Provinz in ein künstliches Licht stellen.⁵¹

Instead of succumbing to the one-sided version of the political powers, poetry was able to convey the deeper longing to belong to more than just a nationality or an ideology. Leszek Kolakowski expresses the motivation for writing poetry as a refusal to give in to the fate of homelessness.

Poetry is said to have its origin in the refusal of our demand for a place that is our own or even ourselves by the indifferent world into which we have been cast. This suggestion, that it is homelessness that provokes human beings to write poetry, applies equally to mythmaking—for what are myths but attempts to so represent the world that it no longer seems

⁴⁹ *Zwischen Pruth und Jordan: Lebenserinnerungen Czernowitzer Juden*, p. 136.

⁵⁰ Klaus Werner, *Fäden ins Nichts Gespannt*, (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1991), p. 14.

⁵¹ Stefan Purici, 'Die Geschichte der Bukowina', in: *Czernowitz, Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt*, ed. by Harald Heppner, (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2000), p. 179.

indifferent to our needs, arbitrary and contingent, but is experienced as a place we can call home?⁵²

Art can thus be seen as a way of reconstituting that which answers to our needs and as such as a means of indicating where home is missing. The overlap between poetry and myths provides a room where home is stitched back together at different levels. Writing and art in general can be seen as a way of representing loss and longing. The *Texte zur modernen Mythentheorie* presents a useful collection of the different types of myths.⁵³ Of interest for the Bukovina is the way two particular types of myth interact: the first being the way facts turn into fiction, the other being the myth as an allegory relating a timeless truth.⁵⁴ Both these ways of remembering an area and its people constitute the particularity of the Bukovina myth. It is easy to debunk the notion of peaceful cohabitation of peoples, but it is not so simple to grasp how deep a need there was for a tolerant, intellectual and intercultural landscape as a part of the authors' past.

As myth and poetry live off each other, understanding the myth helps to trace how collective memory seeks to reinvent the past in order to rewrite its identity, in this case by poetic means. The reduction of *Heimat* to a gentle landscape containing all that the heart may long for marks the first phases of the creation of myths. Memory and longing combine to recreate this kind of simplistic poetry. The nostalgia of poets born at the beginning of the twentieth century has contributed to a one-sided interpretation of history. This is perhaps because nostalgia is a clearer kind of emotion than the more realistic mixture of anger, pain, regret, bitterness and hope. Nostalgia arises out of a deep desire to be able to believe in the harmonious cohabitation of so many different types of people, a wish that is easier to transport to an adjusted notion of the past than to one of its complex realities.

Myths themselves arise out of the hidden desire to experience that kind of belonging. The ones who chose to remember the Bukovina in this way were often those who had lost their home, or else who had turned a place from which so much poetry had come into a poetic space of its own. The amount of destruction that the inhabitants of the Bukovina experienced in the 1940s means that there was an even stronger need to be able to remember a happy past.

⁵² Leszek Kolakowski, *The Presence of Myth*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) in Karsten Harries, *The Ethical Function of Architecture*, (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1997), p. 136.

⁵³ *Texte zur modernen Mythentheorie*, ed. by Wilfried Barner, Anke Detken and Jörg Wesche, (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2003).

The mingling of myth and poetry in the Bukovina contributes to the richness of the literary landscape. As a geographical location of *Heimat*, the Bukovina became a literary deposit of a collective nostalgia for an empire that had collapsed.

Homes within *Heimat*: the village

The vitality of the village context coloured all of Rosenkranz's writing. The village was the first environment he experienced and where he learned what belonging meant, as seen in the fragment of his autobiography *Kindheit*. His poems are on a small scale, describing scenes that he had witnessed, and although he was conscious of the extreme poverty of his own family and of his surroundings, in his memoirs these are neither idealised, nor are they played down. In his prose he does not use the word 'Shtetl' to refer to the villages in which he lived, but presumably that is what they were. Perhaps it was his desire to rise above their confines that determined his choice of reference.

Villages in eastern Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century were settings that may have been poor, but were also endowed with a rich religious life in which there was an abundance of music and poetry. As romanticised as they are now in songs (as seen in the great popularity of Klezmer music in Germany, Austria and the USA in the past few years), theatre productions (the continuing popularity of *Fiddler on the Roof*, the very recent *Reise nach Altmamajestie* by Alexander Kukelka in Vienna) and paintings (Chagall), at the time of their existence the 'shtetls' were places where living conditions were harsh and the structures of community life rigid. The best solution was often to emigrate.

Die Juden in diesen Städtchen führten nicht das von uns romantisierte Dasein, sondern lebten größtenteils in Armut, unter oft unsäglichen Verhältnissen. Die Shtetl waren Zwangsgebilde, die u.a. aus russischen Siedlungsbeschränkungen für Juden herrührten. Trotzdem üben diese Siedlungen eine Art morbide Faszination auf den heutigen Betrachter aus. Wer aber damals als junger Jude die Chance hatte, ging in die wirkliche Stadt, nach Lodz, Warschau, Bialystok, vielleicht sogar in die USA.⁵⁵

Village life was so much a part of Rosenkranz's relationship with language that in the *Untergang* collection there is a section entitled 'Das Dorf' containing forty-seven poems. These range from scenes about family members, to experiences he had with nature. There are reflections about poetry as well as comparisons between Vienna and the Bukovina. His quiet observations arose from his being able to contemplate village life as a microcosm of larger historical events. In Old English and Middle English *home* meant 'a village or town, a collection of dwellings'⁵⁶ Clearly, the communal aspect of home in both English and German was more decisive in earlier periods than now, where home is often reduced to a

⁵⁵ *Jüdische Lebenswelten in Shtetl und Stadt*. Catalogue of the Frankfurter Buchmesse exhibition, 1999, p. 7.

⁵⁶ Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edn 1989. Entry: home.

single apartment or house. The village as a 'collection of dwellings' was where Rosenkranz gathered his first experiences of language and home. For him too it was the collective rather than the individual dwelling that formed his notions of belonging.⁵⁷

The way he internalised the landscapes is seen in the following poem, 'Das Shtetl':⁵⁸

In die Landschaft eingelassen
ohne Härte ohne Zwang
kranke Hütten krumme Gassen
ein gewundner Bach entlang

In this first quatrain of the poem the houses seem to form an organic part of the landscape. The adjectives 'krank' and 'krumm' transfer the attributes from the human to the material houses and streets and suggest the personal nature of the houses gathered in the dwellings by the stream. The lyrical subject describes the impersonal character of the landscape, as if the houses were a mere part of nature. In the rest of the poem the opposition between the Jewishness of the 'shtetl' and the foreign land owners emphasises the difference between the various groups, the 'Uns' on the one hand and the 'Gojim' on the other. The poverty of having to feed on prayer and betel nuts is ironically lifted in the metaphysical hope of waiting for the day of the Lord.

Nährt sich von Gebet und Betel
unter Gojim Himmel fern
unsre Arche unsre Shtetl
wartend auf den Tag des Herrn.⁵⁹

In these lines piety and misery become the very marks of his people's sense of exclusion. Rosenkranz keenly felt the isolation of his villages whilst identifying himself with the world at large. He clung to his origins whilst keeping himself at a distance from them and this would remain a character trait of his until the end of his life. He refused to be put into the same categories as other writers from the Bukovina, always insisting on the differences between them. The tension for him was one where the intellectual knowledge of wider spaces was forced into the corset of the narrow-minded world of village life. The Bukovina Jewish identity was one which celebrated the diversity of different languages and regions, one which was usually expressed by using the German language, or occasionally in Yiddish. This would necessarily clash with the National Socialist rhetoric of one race being bound to one land.

⁵⁷ For a more recent poetic interpretation of village life see: Peter Handke, *Über die Dörfer* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002).

⁵⁸ Rosenkranz, 'Das Shtetl' in *Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997*, (Aachen: Rimbaud, 1998), lines 1-4, p. 10.

⁵⁹ Rosenkranz, 'Das Shtetl' in *Bukowina Gedichte*, lines 24-28, p. 10.

The range of Rosenkranz's experience strengthened rather than weakened him. His sense of belonging was always turned outside-in, so that he never felt he could be fully part of an established community. His inner strength came from the early awareness of his predicament as an outsider. Rosenkranz was proud of his land and its mixture of people and languages, yet resentful of the injustice he suffered there. It was this precarious feeling of not fitting in that made him insist on his right to exist in a manner that on a personal level often came across as unflinching self-confidence. Yet in his verse the ambiguity remains.

In the following poem the mixture of the personal and the village life is transposed onto the animals also living in the village.⁶⁰

Meine Dörfer gleichen scheuen Hunden
liegen blind in ihren schwarzen Mooren
liegen krank und lecken sich die Wunden
liegen abseits von der Welt ...verloren

Unbeachtet gehen hin die Jahre
kommt der Tod mit seiner Knochenbahre

Kommt der Winter mit den weißen Stürmen
drosselt sie in seinen langen Nächten
und verschließt in seinen kalten Türmen
wo sie bleiben als in Sühneschächten

Ihre Seelen nur mit Dunkel füllend
sich zum Schläfe eng in Kälte hüllend

Kommt der Frühling bricht des Frostes Schlösser
und die ausgelaßnen Wasser tragen
weg die Hütten die wie lecke Fässser
hohl an die zerbrochnen Ufer schlagen

Kommt der Sommer trocknet sie in Feuern
Herbst verbirgt sie hinter Regenschleiern

Meine Dörfer gleichen scheuen Hunden
liegen blind in ihren schwarzen Mooren
liegen krank und lecken sich die Wunden
liegen abseits von der Welt ...verloren

Unbeachtet gehen hin die Jahre
kommt der Tod mit seiner Knochenbahre

This undated poem has a folk-song quality to it because of its repetition and the change of season in each verse. That simplicity is of the kind granted when events have been winnowed and only the essential remains. As a ballad it resembles the style of the Romanian poems

⁶⁰ Rosenkranz, *Bukowina Gedichte*, p. 115.

Rosenkranz translated in the 1930s. In his unpublished essay on Romanian poetry he remarked on the style of performance which was still common at the time of his writing:

Im Volke wurden und werden noch heute diese Balladen von Spielleuten unter Musikbegleitung, Zither und Geige, mit vibrierender Stimme nach Sprachmelodien gesagt.⁶¹

This form of poetry certainly influenced his own writing. In this poem the lyrical subject assumes a form of ownership of the area when he refers to the villages as 'meine Dörfer'.⁶² He knows that their fragility is a direct expression of the vulnerability of his own homes. The wounds referred to in the first verse are those suffered from the lack of longevity that poverty and war had caused. If the villages are like shy dogs, which are blind and sick, it is because of the ravages of war and nature leaving the villages isolated, not knowing how to interact with the rest of the world. The lack of stability makes them seem lost. The mixture of blindness, shyness and being wounded conveys Rosenkranz's own relationship to the villages; he was attached to them and yet able to name the many problems. By comparing the villages to dogs Rosenkranz brings out the proximity of animal life to that of the people in the village. He uses one literal figure of village life and using it as a symbol for the whole.

The transience of the settlements is seen here as part of the course of nature rather than politics, yet political events are referred to obliquely in the word 'Sühneschächten' in the third stanza. The lack of education or of the hope of escaping the constraints of poverty is only alluded to, without there being an explicit reference to historical events. 'Meine Dörfer' shows that Rosenkranz's background was one that seemed to be cut off from the rest of the world, affected only by the slow passing of time. For him personally it was literature that became the bridge connecting him with the outside, by giving him a sense that his existence was not limited to his immediate surroundings, but could be given meaning through the written word.

His poems seem in one sense to be the only proof left of the houses that had once existed on the landscapes he knew. In the stanza about spring, the melted ice comes to flood the huts and carry them away. Not only are human efforts dashed by poverty but also by the strength of nature: 'die ausgelaßnen Wasser tragen/ weg die Hütten die wie lecke Fässer/ hohl an die zerbrochnen Ufer schlagen'. Home is thus seen as a dark, cold and drifting structure. Rosenkranz enumerates three attributes from village life that for him are synonyms of the conditions with which he was familiar: its isolation, its misery and its vulnerability. These are

⁶¹ Moses Rosenkranz, essay in Romanian poetry, New York Leo Baeck Collection, AR 25087, Reel 3, frame 515.

⁶² Ibid.

three dangers a home should normally protect against, so Rosenkranz's way of re-establishing the landscape is by describing it, thus restoring an echo of their existence which had been threatened by death in every season, and which would become a landscape in which all the names were changed and which cartographically could barely be found. By committing his villages to verse he was able to prevent their total deliquescence.

The most famous poet of *shtetl* life was Itzik Manger. Born only three years before Rosenkranz in Czernovitz, they had much in common. They both grew up in severe poverty and found poetry as a means to escape. 'Armut bedeutete Beschränkung, Poesie aber Freiheit und Trost.'⁶³ They both spoke German, Yiddish and Romanian. Both were familiar with other German poets and recited poems by heart. Manger wrote in Yiddish however and became very popular in Yiddish-speaking communities throughout the world. He was already known in Warsaw when he arrived there in 1928. When he travelled to the USA in 1951 his readings and lectures were attended by thousands of listeners. Seven years later he was given a hero's welcome in Israel.

There is a strong biblical element in Manger's works which is not as prominent in Rosenkranz's. He makes his own family members and Old Testament figures converse with each other, turning the past into a land of poetry, where spirits fly over the towns, where the dead are as present as the living and where the ordinary is always ready to turn into the magical. Manger succeeded in capturing the festivity of the villages that he had known before the Holocaust and in his poems there is a strong sense of community, of being bound to the Jewish traditions and people. The combination of biblical stories with personal anecdotes and surrealistic imagery made his verse popular in the Yiddish-speaking communities, and many of his poems were set to music.

Herbstlandschaft, einsam traurig und schön.
Bald wird der heilige Baal-Schem-Tow über deine dunkle Vision gehn;
und der silberne Bach, der sich schlängelt still und müd,
und die kleine Birke mit ihrem Schwanenlied,
und der rote Mond, der fiebert schwer im Brand, werden leichter aufgehen
aus seiner frommen Hand.⁶⁴

Manger awakens the mystical world of the Baal Shem who was the Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer about whom there are as many legends as facts. Manger may have seen him as his inspiration to become a Yiddish troubadour, which he was from an early age and remained so, living and

⁶³ Itzik Manger, 'Herbstlandschaft' in *Dunkelgold: Gedichte*, ed. and transl. by Efrat Gal-Ed (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag in Suhrkamp, 2004), p. 21.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

dying in poverty despite his enormous popularity. 'Herbstlandschaft' becomes at once a spiritual as well as a legend or fairy tale landscape. In the lines of the poem the Baal Shem Tow is seen as the one who transforms the dreariness of the autumn landscape into one which is full of warmth and colour. Familiar as Manger was with German poetry, he could recite it so movingly that Alfred Kittner recalled many years later the way in which he spoke the lines of Rilke: 'Traumselige Vigilie! /Jetzt wallt die Nacht durchs Land; / der Mond, die weiße Lilie, / blüht auf in ihrer Hand'.⁶⁵ Manger's lines above echo Rilke's 'Vigilien' but they rework them into a fantastical form, more akin to the imagery of Jewish legends, than to the Christian traditions referred to by Rilke.

Manger's miniatures are intentionally nostalgic. His poems are naïve drawings that knowingly place themselves in contrast to the complexity of historical currents. His verse conjures up the magic of Joseph Roth stories, such as *Der Leviathan*, without commenting on the plight of the Jews, as Roth does. Manger chose to illustrate isolated moments of their lives. This is the more romantic side of the reality that Karl Emil Franzos portrayed in darker images in his prose. When, in *Aus Halb-Asien* Franzos describes what Galicia was like a generation before Rosenkranz, it is the misery of the region that is more in the foreground than its charm. Rosenkranz was caught between the village and the larger cultural centres, as he was neither completely at one with the communities he found in the village, nor adamant about the West having found the way forward. Village life was the departure point for his perspective on the world but this was enlarged, corrected and perhaps distorted by what he knew from books. His observations are of the small things, of individuals and events, with a marked absence of the idyllic. Rosenkranz portrays the villages with the realism of one who knew them from the inside. They are more complicated than in Manger's verse and less prone to be picturesque vignettes of village life.

Rosenkranz considered the land in and around the village as a source of inspiration. Land, as the final destination of organic matter and also its origin, provides him with a wealth of poetic imagery. His early dialogues as a child were with nature, with trees and the wind and this certainly remained a trait of his writing. His communion with nature was not as threatened as were his relations with other people, as he found that in nature there was undiluted beauty and clear roles. Rosenkranz saw the earth as the point of issue for his poems. He used the image of his words growing out of the ground and uses the expression the 'Feld der Sprache', the field of language. His relationship to the land and to language shows how the earth for him is the

⁶⁵ Edith Silbermann citing Alfred Kittner in 'Itzik Manger, der Prinz der Jiddischen Literatur', *Zwischenwelt*, ed. by Armin Eidherr and Karl Müller, (Vienna: Theodor Kramer, 2003), p. 149.

place of inspiration and expiration, the source and the destination.⁶⁶ For Rosenkranz nature and poetry are inseparable:

Übertretend früh die Schwelle
aus dem Stalle in das Feld
wie erfreute da die Helle
ausgebreitet in der Welt

Hoch im Himmel golden Krone
Gotts der seine derbe Hand
segnend hielt auf unsrer Zone
und zu blühen rief das Land

Überall erwachten Keime
öffneten sich breit dem Licht
Tag ertönte voller Reime
ein gewaltiges Gedicht⁶⁷

The words are seen here as growing out of the ground and poetry is seen as a natural phenomenon, just as the light of the morning or the growth of plants. The pleasure of the sunlit landscape is equal to that of the creation of new rhymes which fill the day.

This is an intimate relationship to the land, which is usually lost in urban contexts. Language arising out of the land is an idea that has a faint resemblance to the blood and soil ideology which R. Walther Darré propagated in the 1930s. The 'Blut und Boden' ideology was partly a criticism of urban life and a desire to return to the purity of nature. This aspect was not harmful in itself as a turn away from modern life which sought to reduce the complexity of modernism.

Auch mit der Blut-und-Boden-Ideologie konnten Zukunftsängste durch Erneuerungshoffnungen ersetzt werden- besonders, aber nicht nur in der Landbevölkerung. Der Rückgriff auf Biologismus und ein mystisches Naturverständnis war auch Protest gegen den Intellekt, gegen das mechanistische Denken eines puren Rationalismus, der den Menschen zum Ausbeuter der natürlichen Ressourcen der Erde machte.⁶⁸

Rosenkranz too had a strong mystical relationship with nature and refused to reduce everything to intellectual categories, yet these aspects of the 'Blut-und-Boden' ideology were part of the *Zeitgeist*, and in themselves attractive to many who did not have nationalistic aspirations. As part of this identity of someone who is close to the land Rosenkranz positions

⁶⁶ Rosenkranz, 'Leidige Verpflichtung', *Untergang II*, line 12, p. 69.

⁶⁷ Rosenkranz, 'Selige Erinnerung', *Untergang II*, lines 9-12, p. 11.

⁶⁸ Gustavo Corni and Horst Gies, *Blut und Boden, Rassenideologie und Agrarpolitik im Staat Hitlers*, (Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner, 1994), p. 22-23.

himself in his prose as a farmer rather than as one who has studied books. He insists on maintaining the identity of one who was close to the land. He was keen to emphasise the beauty of unspoiled landscapes of the Bukovina:

Ich trau mich nicht was euer zu beschreiben
Nur daß mein Ländchen davon unberührt
Und lange noch still rückwärts möge bleiben
Das ist mein Wunsch und Preis so ihm gebührt⁶⁹

This direct address of the speaker to his audience has the effect of making the plea for the Bukovina to be left alone all the more urgent, more so than if it had been uttered without the clear fronts of 'your' and 'mine'. It also makes it understood that the one speaking the lines is addressing an international readership. The 'chen' suffix at the end of 'Land' seems to imply the rustic and provincial nature of the Bukovina, whilst in fact forcefully rendering the pride of being from the region.

Yet this patriotism contains none of the more menacing traits of the nationalistic character of the 'Blut und Boden' ideology. Rosenkranz's affection for village life as it had once been does not idealise farmers, nor their way of life. He sees them in their dignity, but also in their misery. Nor does his verse have the racist dimension of the blood-and-soil ideology. He does not pass judgement on the characteristics of the various nationalities living next to each other, nor does he have any conviction that the land had to be cultivated so that the 'Vaterland' would expand. What completely alienates Rosenkranz's verse from the ideology is his criticism of the injustices he witnessed and his clear awareness of how ordinary people were duped by such ideologies. Nazi ideology exploited the desire for the simple life, which had developed in reaction to nineteenth century modernisation and Rosenkranz's verse shows some aspects of the wish to remain close to the land. Yet the ideological connotations of one land for one race are very remote from his verse and his way of thinking.

The simplicity of form that Rosenkranz maintained in his verse until the end also reflects his desire to keep the perspective of a looker-on, of one who is not merely dedicated to any one political group. The many changes that he endured reinforced his need to have a command of the situation, to look at it from above. This was even more of a necessity for him than for the other poets of the region. His own knowledge of the political and literary events happening elsewhere contrasted with the isolation of the location, which in his case was a major part of his identity as a poet. The limits of the village provided a frame from which the rest of the world could be observed, where change was something that came from the outside. That is

⁶⁹ Rosenkranz, 'Lob der Heimat' in *Bukowina Gedichte*, p. 27, lines 21-24.

why he could describe it with the distance of someone for whom these places can be compared with others. Rosenkranz's feeling of responsibility for those near him, whilst being so often excluded from their affection, strengthened his attachment to the craft of 'making' poems. It is as if it were only in the act of using words that he could come to terms with the inherent contradictions of his predicament.

Moving inwards concentrically, the next circle of *Heimat* is the house within the village. This is where the dramas of family life unfold and where human relationships develop, away from the public eye. The house can be a place to retire to but also one where violence can be kept hidden. For language, it is relevant as the first place where speech is learned.

The house

Within the *Heimat* of the village there is the more focused location of the house itself. The houses Rosenkranz writes about are always fragile, and often used for several purposes, whether for the family and the animals they owned, or as abandoned buildings which were then used as places of prayer. As a construction they offer little protection and Rosenkranz emphasized their temporality in his writing.

In his autobiography Rosenkranz pays special attention to the details of the family's houses. One of these was in a very isolated area and the analogy he uses to describe it is one where the house is like a face which has lost its eyes. This combination of the material with the personal represents the mixture of territory and community which defines *Heimat*. 'Bis tief in den Herbst jenes Jahres 1913 stand unser Haus über dem Tal der beiden Flüsse mit scheibenlosen Fenstern; stand wie ein verlassenes Haus, wie ein Geblendeter, verlassen von den Geistern des Lichts.'⁷⁰ The simile of the house being like a blind and abandoned person was very close to what Rosenkranz must have felt about himself. His eyesight was extremely poor and the sense of being isolated was a major component of his identity, whether feeling rejected by his friends or when he was alone in Siberia. The windows with no glass panes are glaring signs of the house's vulnerability, which Rosenkranz also shared. That which should have protected the house from the cold was lacking, and thus the house itself did not provide much protection. The sense of abandonment is then complete when Rosenkranz describes the house as being abandoned by the spirits of light. There was not only physical blindness but also a complete sense of loss, as there was no one to care for the house and the very forces of nature seemed to ignore it.

Rosenkranz's experience contradicts what many see as the ideal home, where the house should mark the spatial entity in which the outside world is kept at bay, thus providing protection for the one inside. Nigel Reeves sees home as the reference point which helps to encounter the new.

Das Zuhause liefert den Maßstab, an dem das Neue und Andere gemessen wurde; es ist das Licht, das auf die Neuheiten der unvertrauten Welten fällt. Es gilt als Ausgangspunkt, als Quelle und als Ort, der ermeßbar ist und dessen Werte dann als Maßstab für das Andere dienen.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 48.

⁷¹ Nigel Reeves, 'Heimat aus der Ferne, Gedanken zu einem Leitmotiv in Heines Dichtung', in *Heimat im Wort*, ed. by R. Görner, *Oder: Verständigung über Heimat* (Munich: iudicium 1992), p. 72.

This is certainly not the case for Rosenkranz. This ideal form of home was precisely what he did not have and the very contrast of the ideal and the biographical information strengthens the case for the inner need for the kind of asylum which gives the departure point for one to be able to approach the outside world.

In Bukovina texts the house is often personified, showing just how much the house is associated with something living, with a person, often the writer's mother. Within the house the main person to bring language and home together is the mother. She is the first acquaintance in the community of those who will come to form a person's *Heimat*. Her voice is the first one the child will hear and will thus introduce the child to language. As a person, her position in finding the connection between language and home is crucial, as she can be seen as the one where the two meet. A mother is the first physical home to comprise all the characteristics of later homes.

The contrast between the desirable home and the existing home clarifies the effect that poverty can have on one's sense of belonging. There needs to be some refuge in which the new can be sorted and compared to the old, where the new can be considered within the framework of what is familiar.

This departure point for organising what is one's own and what is new is common to both the house and to the text. As Bollnow remarks, the house can be seen as the place where order is created: 'Jeder Hausbau ist die Gründung eines Kosmos in einem Chaos'.⁷² The foundation of a place to live thus establishes order where previously there had been none. This organisation of space into manageable units takes place both in the construction of the house and on paper. Rooms and texts are systematised, given functions and character. This representation of the will to set a logical pattern into existence and to draw the walls of personal property expresses the inner wish to belong to a particular land, to be a part of a certain community.

In the poetry from the Bukovina the mother returns as a figure on the borders between real life and myth. Celan's mother, who died in a labour camp, haunts much of his verse. Yet with the loss of his mother, he also felt that he had lost the power of his mother tongue.

Espenbaum, dein Laub blickt weiß ins Dunkel.
Meiner Mutter Haar ward nimmer weiß

Löwenzahn, so grün ist die Ukraine.
Meine blonde Mutter kam nicht heim.

Regenwolke, säumst du an den Brunnen?

⁷² Otto Friedrich Bollnow, *Mensch und Raum*, (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1963), p. 144.

Meine leise Mutter weint für alle.

Runder Stern, du schlingst die goldne Schleife.
Meiner Mutter Herz ward wund von Blei.

Eichne Tür, wer hob dich aus den Angeln?
Meine sanfte Mutter kann nicht kommen.⁷³

This poem contrasts what is tangible and visible with the mother whom the lyrical subject can no longer touch and see. Nature in its various forms is a reminder of the poet's mother, who belonged to that particular landscape. Yet rather than bringing both the mother and the landscape into a nostalgic memory of the past, the poet uses the lyrical to contrast with the brutality of his mother's death. Whereas the elements of nature (the 'Eспенbaum', 'Löwenzahn', 'Regenwolke'), culminate in the 'runder Stern' as a symbol of transcendence, the bullet alluded to in the 'Blei' trespasses onto the tranquillity of the scene in line 8. In the final stanza the solidity of the oak door is negated by the fact that the door has been taken off its hinges. The domestic detail of the 'eichne Tür' which could refer to a door inside a house is introduced only to underline the impossibility of the mother being able to return. The protection from the outside world is lost, just as his own mother, the epitome of home, is lost.

Rose Ausländer was more sentimental about her mother. Her poem *Geisterweg* draws together several elements which show how the land and the mother combine to create a home:⁷⁴

Es war unser Haus, es war
unser Garten mit feingekämmtem Haar.
Es war Mutterduft, es war.

Looking back on home and the protection it offered, Ausländer uses the form 'es war' four times in three lines to emphasise the finality of having lost the house. Writing about home is often done when that home is in the past. The normality and gratuitous nature of home in the present does not lend itself to poetic motifs, unless there is the contrast of loss, or of change of some form. In these three lines Ausländer moves in from the impersonal nature of home, to its most central and personal aspect in the 'Mutterduft'. First there is the building, then the land and then the mother. The objects and the human elements blend to show their interaction. The garden is personified as having hair, an example of how location and people combine to create a home. The choice of 'unser' marks the community aspect of the home. It was not her

⁷³ Paul Celan, 'Eспенbaum', *Gedichte I*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1975), p. 19.

⁷⁴ Rose Ausländer, 'Geisterweg' in *Fäden ins Nichts*, lines 5-7, p. 94.

house, or her mother's house, it was the place where the family belonged, 'unser Haus'. The smell of the mother seems to characterise the whole house, not as something secondary, but rather as the essence of the whole memory of what home had been. It was also something that had existed once and that time had taken. The repetition of 'unser' and of 'es war' marks the contrast of belonging as a verb that made sense in the past to the helpless and impersonal 'es war' that marks time, whilst reinforcing the finality of its irretrievability. Here it is clear how much the house and family are elements of the same reality of 'home'. Time, place and people are the three categories in this stanza that help to define home.

In the poem *Bildnis einer Alten* Rosenkranz makes the image of the house and that of the mother overlap to such an extent that the two become inseparable parts, the old woman becoming an image for the spiritual home.

Bildnis einer Alten

Ein Leib, aus dem zehn Leben gekommen waren.
Ein Antlitz, das vier Tode empfangen hat.
Ein Schädel, in dessen spärlichen Haaren
sich Menschseins ein Sturm verfangen hat.

O greise Frau, ich schaue dein Stehen
und manchesmal fühl ich: du bist ein Haus,
in das die Juden beten gehen,
Du bist eine alte, lehmige Klaus.

Du hast gegen Gottes Wüten geborgen
die Leben, die du dem Leben geschenkt;
du locktest für sie durch das Fenster den Morgen,
du hast dich für sie in das Erdreich gesenkt.

Nun du, die Füße umklammert von Erde,
den Rumpf voll Strahl, in die Gäßchen dachst,
erschau ich, wie du mit Lehmgebärde
dich erhebst Ziegel um Ziegel und lachst.

Was lachst du mit deinen zerbrochenen Blicken?
Es ist doch nicht Samstag, der Herr ist noch weit!
Indessen hat sie in ihren Stücken
sich hingeordnet –empfangnisbereit.⁷⁵

The analogy here of a woman being like a house reveals how close the two are to each other can be in a psychological perception of home. Here the quality of protection against the dangers of the outside world is a main part of the portrait. The woman has given birth to ten lives and protected them against God's wrath. The catalogue-like listing of the old woman

⁷⁵ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Bildnis einer Alten' in *Fäden ins Nichts Gespannt*, p. 23.

begins with 'ein Leib', 'ein Antlitz', 'ein Schädel' in the poem's first stanza. These locations become the sites of major occurrences in the life of the Jewish community, where ten men are needed to form an assembly, and which presumably at the time of writing (the poem is undated) had already been affected by the death of some of its members. The synagogue as a mother suggests its family character, the concomitant nature of the filial and spiritual relationship that its visitors may experience.

The old woman or house is seen as the giver and protector of life and at the end of the poem as the one who is still ready to receive. The perspective changes and instead of addressing the woman, she is referred to in the third person. In the second stanza, addressing the old woman by calling her an old house 'O greise Frau...du bist ein Haus, in das die Juden beten gehen' is to gather in one image properties which are common to the material, the personal and the spiritual home. She is protective of those to whom she gave birth and she has offered up her own life for them (line 10). Calling her an old house indicates the familiarity and almost lack of respect that he has towards her: '...einer Identifizierung von Mensch und Haus sprechen, wie sie auch heute noch nachwirkt, wenn man scherzhaft einen andern Menschen als 'altes Haus' anredet'.⁷⁶ The last word, prepared by the short pause of the dash preceding it, opens out onto the hopeful perspective that lies ahead of her: she is ready to receive or conceive, both meanings being possible in the German.

Rosenkranz brings together three strands of the nature of home in this poem: the house itself, the role of the mother and the awareness of the spiritual home: 'Es ist doch nicht Samstag, der Herr ist noch weit!' This suggests that the mother's joy of having given birth and of having saved the lives of her children is then absorbed in the hope for the arrival of the Saviour. As the Jewish tradition sees the mother as having the vital role of educating the children by passing on the religious rituals, the family provides an internal forum within the home which serves as a preparation to the communal life in the synagogue, thus laying the foundation for the social side of the religious *Heimat*. The intermingling of the characteristics of the building, the person and the place of prayer indicate the most thorough forms of belonging, where the material, the personal and the spiritual meet.

⁷⁶ Otto Friedrich Bollnow, *Mensch und Raum*, p. 293-294.

Rosenkranz's biography

Unlike his contemporaries, Rosenkranz's texts are full of contradictory feelings toward his homes, whether nostalgic and bitter, or sober and fantastical. Yet within the realistic descriptions of his emotions there is also the instinctive knowledge of the possibility of being freed from the pain and constraint; this intuition contributed to his remaking of a home.

Individual and collective memories blend to create versions of the past that build on each other. This double manifestation of truth in memory and in what writing distills into so-called historical fact is what makes the autobiography a particularly suitable form for exploring the question of how language becomes home. Unlike other documents, it testifies to the thoughts and feelings of a person toward the historical events of the time, thus giving a picture of the personal reality of a period of time. The autobiography therefore has a special value in informing the reader about the inner landscape of home. Werner Mahrhold specifies the particular value of the autobiography as a genre:

Aus allen anderen Urkunden und Zeugnissen, aus Romanen und Gedichten, aus Verfügungen und Gesetzen muß der Geschichtsschreiber das wirkliche Sosein einer Zeit erschließen, und die Fehlerquelle vergrößert sich durch ebendies Schließenmüssen. Die eigene Lebensbeschreibung gibt ihm, wenn er ihre Angaben mit den ihm aus anderen Quellen bekannten Tatsachen vergleicht, unmittelbar die Stellung des Menschen zu seiner Zeit. Für eine Geschichte des Geistes und der Seele, in dem Sinn, wie wir sie zu geben versuchen, ist deshalb die Selbstbiographie die wichtigste Quelle.⁷⁷

This history of the mind, the 'Geschichte des Geistes', is what reveals the psychological aspects of language and homes. The autobiography serves as a historical document which reveals more about individuals' inner worlds than the historical facts do. In this sense Rosenkranz's *Kindheit* provides a wealth of information about his relationships to the world around him, which are revealed in a more cognitively direct manner than in his poetry. The choice to use verse to witness to what he had experienced results in a different form of historical documentation, where personal knowledge of the Holocaust becomes stylized into ordered rhyming quatrains.

Rosenkranz's own view of the past was ambiguous, as illustrated by the following poem:

Unsichere Erinnerung

⁷⁷ Werner Mahrhold, 'Der Wert der Selbstbiographie als geschichtliche Quelle' in *Die Autobiographie: zu Form und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung*, 2nd edn, (ed. by Günter Niggel, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998), p. 72.

Ich erlebte noch das Paradies:
Meine Kindheit flatterte um Pflanzen
die den Blicken und dem Munde süß
durfte auch mit Licht im Arme tanzen

Lebte ich es? War es nicht ein Traum?
Ists nicht eine Spiegelung gewesen?
wo es blühte quirlen Schein und Schaum
schwarze Dünst sich aus dem Boden lösen

Sind wohl Todesgase von der Pracht
die aus ihrer Leiche um sich greifen:
War es wirklich? Ists nicht nur gedacht
daß ich einst im Garten durfte schweifen?

Even the title of Moses Rosenkranz's poem 'Unsichere Erinnerung' reveals the doubt the lyrical subject has when recalling his childhood.⁷⁸ He approaches the theme of the past with all the disconcertment that the contrast between the memories created. The first four lines make a claim of having known paradise and this is then tested in the following stanzas. The joys of innocent childhood in nature with the smells of the plants and the light are then set in contrast in line four with the doubt of the truthfulness of the memory. Three questions about the historical reality of his memory follow: 'Lebte ich es? War es nicht ein Traum?/ Ists nicht eine Spiegelung gewesen?'

The word 'Spiegelung' casts doubt on the whole reality of the past before the Nazi genocide. The juxtaposition of 'blühte' and 'quirlen' strengthens the contrast of past and present, of life and death, as the gentleness of the verb 'blossom' jars against the harshness of beating or whisking. Where there had been sweet plants in the first stanza, there are only fumes arising out of the earth in the second. The abrupt mention of the 'Todesgase', the Cyclone B poison, which instead of being used as a pesticide, as when it had first been developed, was being used to kill human beings, now confirms the contrast between the happy and the sinister memories. The following question 'war es wirklich?' now applies to the reality of the Holocaust. The 'einst' in the final line then links the individual's biography to the mythical story of the garden of Eden, in order to reinforce the doubt about the facticity of memory. The borderline between imagination and reality is not so easily traced and in this autobiographical poem Rosenkranz, as the 'I' in the poem, asks whether what he experienced in his childhood really was the way he remembers it. The beauty of childhood and the horror of the death both seem unreal.

⁷⁸ Moses Rosenkranz, *Unsichere Erinnerung*, *Untergang II: Ein Jahrhundertbuch*, (Innsbruck: Wort und Welt, 1988), p. 84. Poem undated.

In his study on *Heimat* Bernhard Schlink points to the proximity between the familiar, everyday character home's attractiveness and that longing for the unobtainable. This causes an unstable relationship with the past which often results in reverse wish-fulfilment. Great longing that was never fulfilled is transported to childhood and one chooses to see the past as the 'place' where the ideal was realised. 'Aber was den Zauber der Heimat in den Gedichten ausmacht, ist nicht diese Zugänglichkeit und Alltäglichkeit, sondern etwas Unerfülltes, etwas Unerfüllbares'.⁷⁹ In 'Unsichere Erinnerung' it is not clear whether the wish was fulfilled or not. The paradise could also have been a real part of the subject's childhood.

The events in Rosenkranz's early childhood gave him the firm conviction that his personal way of confronting affliction would be to transform the suffering he endured and witnessed into verse. Autobiography conditioned the way he approached writing. It was his way of interpreting what he witnessed. From the beginning, Moses Rosenkranz's experience of life was one of estrangement. His father had been sent away from home at the age of ten and it was as if Rosenkranz inherited this fate of being expelled. Within his own family the feeling of solitude led him to search for a more reliable way of communicating than the random exchanges he had with other family members. In his autobiography *Kindheit* Rosenkranz describes the search for a pure use of words as something that began in his early childhood, as something that came with the conscious use of language. At first he did not write down his verse, but merely put the words together in his mind and memorised them: 'Ich schrieb sie [die Verse] nicht auf, da mir das Schreiben schwer fiel, doch vergaß ich sie von einem Tag auf den anderen und mußte allnächtlich neue zusammenstellen'.⁸⁰ Later, writing not only helped him think clearly, it gave him a way of corresponding with himself, which in the lack of relationships with those around him, was a vital part of his personal growth. The one volume that we have of his autobiography reveals Rosenkranz's transformation of his troubled childhood into the challenge of how to best express the events into a literary inheritance.

The different types of exclusion that Rosenkranz experienced began in the family and were reinforced at school. Anti-Semitism and political upheavals then strengthened his sense of being unwanted, even in the country of his birth. In each of these phases he turned to writing.

Kindheit is the story of many departures from home and of attempts to find inner and outer asylum. Born on 20 June 1904 near the village of Berhometh, by the Pruth river in the north of the Bukovina, Edmund Rosenkranz was the seventh child and his parents, overloaded with

⁷⁹ Bernhard Schlink, *Heimat als Utopie*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2000), p. 27.

⁸⁰ *Kindheit*, p. 104.

work, often neglected him. This initial sense of being alone remains a theme throughout his works. In the following poem about his birth he considers his beginnings in the world.

Geburtspunkt

Ich kam zur Welt in einem Stamme
der mich in seine Hut nicht nahm
daß ich sehr unwillkommen kam
es sagte mirs der Blick der Amme

Ich kam zur Welt in einer Kate
in der kein Platz für mich bestand
ich kam zur Welt in einem Land
darin ich nichts zu suchen hatte

In eine Welt verschloßner Türen
kam ich und mußte draußen stehn:
ich fühlte wie die Winde gehen
und wurde ohne mich zu rühren.⁸¹

The 'Ich' in this poem becomes more than Rosenkranz as an individual. It transfers the biographical to a more universal type of homelessness, where the moment of birth itself marks the arrival into hostile territory. The lyrical subject describes an exile that began in infancy, when the beginning of life as rejection signifies that his knowledge of *Heimat* came from elsewhere than his own experience of it as a child. Neither the community around him, the 'Stamme' (a clan or tribe), nor the first person to look after him, his 'Amme' (wet-nurse) welcomed him into the world. Neither the village, nor the country seemed to have space for the child and thus the lyrical subject sees his position as one who is permanently on the outside, the verb 'werden' in the last line indicating the passive and almost organic nature of his growth.

His sense of exile began where the feeling of home should have begun. When writing about his parents his stance is that of being alienated from the subject matter. 'Meine Mutter entstammte den Lenden des geistigen Ehepaars Faibisch und Rifka Hefter. [...] Mein Vater gehörte einem Geschlecht zur Synagoge zurückgekehrter Frankisten an.'⁸² He seems to be referring to acquaintances rather than his parents in these sentences. This distance from what should have been near to him reinforced his search for intimacy in other areas. His transferral of events into verse made them personal, a form of property that he could call his own.

⁸¹ Moses Rosenkranz, *Bukowina: Gedichte 1920-1997*, p. 37.

⁸² Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 5.

The large family suffered continually from hunger and cold. There were so few rooms in their house that the children had to sleep on chairs placed side by side, with a coat as a blanket over them.⁸³ Rosenkranz went to a Polish school where he could not understand the language or see the blackboard, as his eyesight was so poor. Socially isolated, it was only by his own love of reading and writing that he could earn a place in his environment.

Contrary to the experience of many a literary person raised with an academic education, Rosenkranz is a poet whose sense of beauty in language was developed as a private means of escape from his wretched surroundings. Like many Jewish children he had to learn Hebrew in addition to all the other languages, and in his autobiography he recalls one night, when he had been looking for his school report, and had found a book of Hebrew verse instead, which he could read aloud, even if he could not understand the meaning of the words. The rhymes fascinated him so much that he woke up the whole household by reading them so loudly.⁸⁴ The unusual attraction to the written word and to the sounds that he could decipher from them marked his very early intellectual independence from his family. When food, sight and affection were denied to him, Rosenkranz began to take refuge in the imaginary world that words could create. The lack of individual space also forced him to find at least one activity which could widen his sense of personal freedom.

Just before the outbreak of the First World War the family began to disperse. Moses ended up in Zaibusch, on the border between Galicia and Silesia, where the refugee committee took them to the house of a rabbi. Here, at the age of twelve, he was a misfit again when he realised that his skills of knowing how to milk a cow and saddle a horse were not valued in the town. Yet the surprising element of his character and of his writing was his tenacity in the face of disorientation. He was proud of what he could do and because he had survived frequent changes of environment, he had learned to defend his own identity: 'Ich trug meine Dörfer in mir, und das war gewichtig genug, um selbst meinem Stillschweigen Bedeutung zu verleihen.'⁸⁵ As a child, he was resolute in his view that the skills he had acquired were of no less worth than what other children had learned. His certainty about the importance of what he had experienced gave him the confidence to choose words or silence in a very personal way. He had already decided to focus on poetry: 'Meine Hauptbeschäftigung war aber der Selbstunterricht im Deutschen und das Lernen der Dichtung. In jenem beschränkte ich mich

⁸³ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 13.

⁸⁴ Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 19.

⁸⁵ Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 101.

auf das langsame und eindringliche Lesen unserer Klassiker, in diesem auf eigenen Übungen in allen Formen der Gattung'.⁸⁶

His school experiences were bleak and in his next effort, at Bielitz on the Silesian border, he failed all of the entrance examinations. He was taken only because one teacher thought that he was bright. 'Ich fühlte mich von Professor Haar, nicht aber von der Schule aufgenommen.'⁸⁷ This was the first time that someone showed interest in his intellectual abilities and encouraged him, in spite of the verdict of the other teachers that he was not good enough. Professor Haar became one of the few personal refuges on the child's journey. At the new school he was ridiculed by his geography teacher who despised Jews and took a particular dislike to Rosenkranz. Thus anti-Semitism was added to the already heavy load of poverty and made his sense of exclusion even more bitter.

The end of the First World War brought new problems with it. Rosenkranz recalls his reactions to the changes:

verachtete ich auch die indessen laut gewordenen Friedensdiktate von St. Germain und Versailles, die faderweise, jedenfalls in unserer Gegend, die Früchte des Sieges dem mutlosen aber dreisten Unrecht zugesprochen hatten. Infolgedessen nahmen die absurd berechtigten Träger desselben unsere Plätze in Besitz. Kurz darauf mußten wir in unserem eigenen Lande, als Fremde, bei den Zugereisten um die Aufenthaltserlaubnis bitten.⁸⁸

Now even political changes meant that home was no longer his own and those from the Bukovina had to ask for permission to live in their own country. Moses and his brother Arnold were then sent to a boarding school for refugees in Prague. The house is described as a 'schmales, vierstöckiges Haus und wimmelte von Kindern aller Nationen des bunten Ostens der Monarchie, vorherrschend waren indes wir Juden'.⁸⁹ This part of the trajectory of Rosenkranz's so-called homes was perhaps the most desperate. Wrenched from familiar faces at an age when affection is more desperately needed than knowledge, his loneliness was now stronger than ever before. At thirteen, he experienced the kind of homesickness that found no consolation. One day he and his brother received a parcel from their parents and the return address informed them that their parents had changed homes again. His brother's comment was an understatement of their helplessness: 'Sie sind schon wiederum ohne uns

⁸⁶ Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 216-217.

⁸⁷ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 104.

⁸⁸ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 160.

⁸⁹ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 123.

umgezogen.’⁹⁰ They had not been told about the move. Poverty simply inflicted a long series of changes which the parents themselves endured more than they chose. With characteristic restraint Rosenkranz barely dwells on the details.

After Kremsier and a return to the Kalahura where their home had been burned to the ground the family moved to Czernovitz, where their new address was ‘Russische Gasse No.18’. Moses enrolled in the *Staatsgymnasium*, located at the ‘Austria Platz’, which the Romanians had changed to ‘Dacia Platz’.⁹¹ Their new home was a two-room apartment where Moses and his brothers and sisters were to stay. Soon the parents and Arnold joined them so that they were eight people living in two rooms.

These are the homes listed in the autobiography *Kindheit*. The rather abrupt end to the autobiographical fragment leaves the rest of Rosenkranz’s long life in the dark and one can only hope that the sequel, *Jugend*, will be published in the near future.⁹²

What becomes clear throughout this autobiography is that neither the education Moses was given at school, nor the encouragement of his parents was what drove him to seek the literary form as a way of creating his identity. Rather, the mix of languages made him struggle for one medium only in which he could find stability. Necessity, rather than luxury drove him to literature.

A few more details about Rosenkranz’s following years can be gleaned from his correspondence with Alfred Margul-Sperber: he left school in 1919 two years after his father’s death because of financial difficulties. He then worked as an apprentice in a pharmacy whilst continuing to study on his own, so that from 1922 to 1925 he could give private literature and history lessons. In 1925 he travelled to Strasbourg where he worked as a journalist for two years. In 1927 he returned to the Bukovina to do his military service. Later he was to say that it was in the army that he slept in a proper bed for the first time, had proper food and had decent colleagues. Here was a home in the most precarious of forms and yet nevertheless a first sense of being needed. From 1929 to 1931 he worked as a correspondent in a clothing firm, after which he went to Bucharest to work for the Foreign Ministry. In 1934 he began to write the biography of Queen Mary of Romania.⁹³

⁹⁰ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 127.

⁹¹ Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 161.

⁹² The publication of *Jugend* at the Rimbaud publishing house has been repeatedly postponed for the last three years.

⁹³ ‘Briefe von Moses Rosenkranz an Alfred Margul-Sperber (1930-1963), ed. by George Guțu, ZGR 1-2 (7-8), 1995, (Bucharest: Charmé Scott), p. 188-189.

During these years he worked on farms and factories, just trying to earn enough to feed himself and Marka, the woman who had chosen to join him from Czernovitz, and the daughter born out of his relationship with her, Marianne. In the 1930s Rosenkranz worked in Czernovitz and in Bucharest as the translator and secretary of Ion Pillat, a politician and author. During this time he met and fell in love with Anna to whom he wrote hundreds of letters in the following decades.⁹⁴ She was living in Bucharest for many years when he was in Czernovitz, because she would not come to Czernovitz and he did not think he could find work in Bucharest. Moses moved between Czernovitz, Bucharest and Suceava, always renting one room of an apartment and often being late paying the rent. It was only in May 1940 that he proposed to Anna.⁹⁵ As he had been addressing her as Anna Rosenkranz for the previous ten years, it seems that he was not worried about the official names and would change either his own name or hers for the sake of convenience. Moses himself had been called Munju and then Edmund and changed his name to Moses after having been insulted by an anti-Semitic teacher at school: 'Feiges Tier! Er schwindelt ein menschliches Aussehen und tarnt sich auch noch mit einem christlichen Namen' was how his teacher had addressed him.⁹⁶ Having realised at the age of thirteen that there was no existing document recording his birth, Edmund asked his father to have one written out and that was when he took on the name Moses, which, as he found out later had been his original name, in memory of his paternal great-grandfather. This early allegiance to the Jewish people was not a constant trait however and in his letters there are the occasional derogatory remarks about Jews. 'Sie sind leider das Volk, das ihre Propheten konterfeit haben, diese Israelis!'⁹⁷ The other name used for him was the pseudonym 'Martin Brant', which his friends had chosen when he had been in Siberia in order to publish a collection of his poems.

From 1942 to 1944 Rosenkranz was in a labour camp held by the Romanian fascists. From 1945-46 he worked as a volunteer for the Red Cross in Bucharest, and it was then that he was deported, accused of being the leader of an anti-Communist group in 1947. He was taken to a Gulag in Norilsk, Siberia, where prisoners were forced to mine pits that were radio-active and which has average temperatures of -10°C to -60°C.

From his interviews with him, Dieter Schlesak was able to gain more information about this period in Rosenkranz's life:

⁹⁴ Moses Rosenkranz to Anna, unpublished letter dated 24.12.1939, microfilm 1, frame 232.

⁹⁵ Moses Rosenkranz to Anna, unpublished letter dated 15. 05.1940, microfilm 1, frame 394.

⁹⁶ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 117.

⁹⁷ Rosenkranz: unpublished letter to Anna Ruebner Rosenkranz, 10.1.1963, microfilm reel 2, frame 007, AR 25087, Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

Moses Rosenkranz berichtet zum Beispiel, wie er am Anfang dieses Leidensweges, es war noch am Schwarzen Meer, aber schon auf russischem Territorium, in eine Zelle mit Steinboden geführt wurde, wo er nackt zwei Tage und zwei Nächte verbringen mußte. Erstaunlicherweise hatte er die ganze Zeit geschlafen, und fand sich, als eine Charge ihn besuchte, in dieser Kälte und Nässe wieder, "wo man das Meer stark rauschen hörte", "zusammengerollt wie ein Hund, ich muß da sehr gefroren haben..." Und zum Chargierten sagte er: "Zum Teufel, bringen Sie mir doch Kleidungsstücke. Geht nicht. Es ist verfügt worden, daß Sie zwei Tage und zwei Nächte nackt hier liegen müssen," antwortete der.

Auf die Frage, wie er denn unter solchen Bedingungen, nicht krank geworden sei, sagt Moses Rosenkranz: "Ich habe mich auch bei 60 Grad unter Null am Polarkreis nicht erkältet... Und im Winter bin ich 4 Kilometer barfuß zur Schule gelaufen als Kind. Ich hatte ja keine Schuhe. Im Schnee. Im Schnee war es noch warm, aber es gab Partien, wo kein Schnee war. Ich war auch eingeübt darin, 14 Tage ohne Essen zu leben. _Von zu Hause? _Von zu Haus, ja, vom sogenannten zu Haus her", sagt Rosenkranz sanft und voller Hohn.⁹⁸

His memories of home are therefore of a place where he had already become familiar with extreme poverty. In his verse Rosenkranz describes the abduction to Siberia in 'Kidnapping', where four men came to arrest him when he was at the library, wanting to take out a volume of Platen's poems. Either premonition or previous knowledge of his arrest provided a sense of relief when the moment finally arrived: 'Ich fühlte mich los und befreit/ nun endlich von schwerem Erwarten/ herausgeholt aus der Zeit/ in eine Unendlichkeit starten'.⁹⁹

Norilsk on the Thaymir, an area which is still closed to foreign visitors, is known to be the world's biggest supplier of palladium and nickel, where great quantities of sulphur dioxide are produced, causing high numbers of deaths from cancer among its inhabitants. Despite the severe conditions he endured there, Rosenkranz grew to love the eerie landscapes. 'Und doch, der Dichter liebte diese grausame Landschaft'.¹⁰⁰

From the correspondence it is not clear when Anna and Moses divorced, but in 1950 Anna remarried in New York. Although she had made huge efforts to have Rosenkranz released, it was not until 1957 that Rosenkranz could return to Romania and be reunited with his daughter Marianne.

⁹⁸ Dieter Schlesak, 'In tiefster Hölle beginnt es zu singen: Zwischen zwei Diktaturen – Der Dichter Moses Rosenkranz'. www.geocities.com/Area51/Shadowlands/7860/mrosen.html [accessed 21 January 2008].

⁹⁹ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kidnapping, Visionen*, p. 55. (event occurred on 27.4. 1947 and poem was written in 1958).

¹⁰⁰ Doris Rosenkranz, 'Nach-Worte' of *Visionen*, p. 149.

In 1961 he emigrated to West Germany to live with Doris Rosenfeld, who, as the correspondence suggests, had been a good friend of Anna's who had also helped her in her attempts to help Rosenkranz leave Romania. From his letters to Anna in the 1960s it is clear that Moses was still devoted to Anna, but that Doris had saved him at a time when he was deeply in need of companionship. It was Doris who offered him his first home, 'die erste behagliche Wohnung meiner Existenz'.¹⁰¹ Doris Rosenkranz has also been influential in having his works published. Rosenkranz's own summary of his life, written in what was presumably intended to become the introduction to a collection of his poems, the following were the most significant events of his life:

Als 3-jähriger von den auf die Liebe der Eltern eifersüchtigen Geschwistern in eine Feuerprobe geworfen, von der ältesten Schwester [Duza] doch noch gerettet. 1a) Erster Weltkrieg [„Nie wieder will ich so was sehen“ als 10-jähriger gesagt]. 2) Das Erlebnis der Stadt Prag 1917/18. 3) Strasbourg 1926. 4) Rumänien. Land und Volk. [Anlässlich der oblig. Militärdienstzeit kennengelernt]. 5) Suceava [Sperber, Jetty, Annis „Wächterturn“, damit ich Die Tafeln schreiben kann]. 6) Der zweite Weltkrieg [Ghetto, Gefängnis, Arbeitslager, Mariannes Gefängnis]. 7) Der sozialistische Staat, der diesen Band an die Öffentlichkeit bringt.¹⁰²

These seven events that he selected as the most significant memories of his life, the last point being merely an ironic homage to the authorities, are evidence of the severity of the environment in which Rosenkranz grew up. They also show his gratitude to his friends when in point 4 and 5 he mentions Romania and particularly his time in Suceava, where Margul-Sperber and his wife Jetty, as well as Rosenkranz's later wife Anna made it possible for him to dedicate himself solely to his writing.

¹⁰¹ Unpublished letter from Moses to Anna Rosenkranz 25.4.1963, reel 3, frame 64 of the Moses Rosenkranz collection AR 25087, Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

¹⁰² Moses Rosenkranz, 'Moses Rosenkranz Briefe an Alfred Margul-Sperber', ed. by George Guțu, *Zeitschrift der Germanisten Rumäniens* 1-2 (7-8), 1995, (Bucharest: Charme-Scott), p. 198.

Rosenkranz as a Bukovina poet

Rosenkranz's unwavering commitment to poetry during the long span of his life provides a good example of what the importance of writing can be in a person's life. Making sense of the world by constructing a poem in his mind, memorising it, and writing it down became a process of transforming outer events into word-interpretations which offered a form of relief from the occurrences themselves. The fact that Rosenkranz could not always write down his poems is addressed by his widow in her postscript to *Visionen*, where she quotes a manuscript from the 1970s of him saying: 'Die Gedichte entstanden während der aus ihnen hörbaren Vorgänge oder unmittelbar danach. Es war nicht immer möglich, sie sofort aufzuschreiben. Die meisten wurden aus der Erinnerung wieder hergestellt'.¹⁰³

There is no self-aggrandisement in his verse and Rosenkranz resists the temptation of trying to represent a whole population, preferring to be content to describe what he sees. The arresting quality of his work is to be found in the authenticity of the life he was portraying, as Matthias Huff comments at the end of *Kindheit*:

Diese Erinnerungen haben den besonderen Wert, authentisch kleinbäuerliches Leben zu schildern. Wahrhaft wird nicht nur über das Unten, sondern von unten erzählt, und das ist so selten in der deutschen Literatur: Weder falsch naiv noch getragen von der verbildeten Sehnsucht nach dem Unmittelbaren, die im Blick nach unten doch immer nur sich selber sieht. Moses Rosenkranz ist ein profunder Denker, aber kein Intellektueller, kein Akademiker. Er ist einer der wenigen Dichter der Bukowina, ja einer der wenigen deutschen Dichter überhaupt, die nicht geprägt sind durch den nivellierenden gutbürgerlichen Bildungshorizont, in dem Heimat und Herkunft beliebig werden, pittoreske Themen.¹⁰⁴

The difference Huff makes between a profound thinker and an intellectual is particularly apt for Rosenkranz who was keen to read and observe, but not necessarily willing to be part of the intellectual community. He moved in and out of literary circles, always being swift to criticize their shallowness, as will be seen in the relationships that the Bukovina authors had with each other.

Rosenkranz's ability to concentrate on the details of the events he witnessed and his single-mindedness about poetry, regardless of how it was received make him an unusual figure from the Bukovina. The distance that Rosenkranz manages to create from the subject is often achieved by the tension between the depth of thought and the simplicity of the form. One

¹⁰³ Moses Rosenkranz, quoted by Doris Rosenkranz in *Visionen*, p. 147-148.

¹⁰⁴ Matthias Huff, in *Kindheit*, p. 238.

example of this seeming contradiction between form and content, can be seen in the poem 'Die armen Mütter' where the subject matter suddenly becomes poignant in a way that the style of the poem would not have led to expect.¹⁰⁵

Die armen Mütter

Die Nacht ist voll silberner Treppen,
Sie führen alle zu Gott;
Mädchen mit purpurnen Schleppen
Folgen dem singenden Tod.

Sie halten unter den Blusen
Kindlein die niemals erwacht,
Legen sie Gott an den Busen
Und sinken zurück in die Nacht.

The poem seems to imitate the folk style of the Romanian poems that Rosenkranz had devoted many hours to translating and which can be found in reel 3 of the New York Leo Baeck Collection. Here Rosenkranz combines the magic of fantastical scenery with the allusion to the tragedy he must have seen, whether in this form or differently. The steps in the first line present a magical image of a surreal setting. The silver and purple colours evoke the darkness of the scene, where the 'Schleppen' in line two create the sense of a nocturnal ritual being carried out, especially as the girls are following a singing death. The despair of the mothers is only hinted at in the last line, when they 'sinken zurück in die Nacht'. The similar sound of 'sinken' and 'singen' make the two words merge in associations and thus death's song becomes the very cause of the mothers' despair. The simplicity of the words is deceptive, as the regularity of the lines can make the reader pass by the shock of their contents. The death of the children is almost concealed by the last line, when the mothers return to the night. Death seduces by its singing and the mothers' disappearance into the night is just as gentle as its song. The death of the children in line six is not explained and the reader is left wondering if this was a procession or was it a dream-like reworking of the children's deaths the lyrical subject had witnessed over the years? The lack of answers to these questions leaves the reader with a sense of the dramatic nature of the suffering during the wars. There merely remains the impression of their unnatural death which needs to be hidden in the darkness of the night.

It is perhaps this recording of events on the one hand and the refusal to enter the emotional implications on the other that results in the clash between the violence of the emotions that would be involved in such a scenery and the seemingly peaceful manner in which it is

¹⁰⁵ Moses Rosenkranz, *Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997*, p. 110.

described. Rosenkranz neither avoids the harshness of the facts, nor does he let them take over his whole mindset. He keeps a firm distance to the events in his verse which is perhaps part of what gives an edge to the traditional sounds of simple rhyme and metre. He does not embellish and call for false hope.

The unusual combination of one who is so close to the land and yet experiences the act of writing as a necessity gives Rosenkranz the unique prerogative of revealing how words can provide a type of home that land cannot give. He is able to see the parallels between work on the land and the work of translating impressions into vocabulary and syntax. This need is already apparent in his childhood when he chooses which language to use. It was his own search that led him to the German language. He did not acquire it passively, the way a child normally does. It was his elder sister Pepi who would recite poems or tell the family stories, once pretending that she herself had written Mörike's 'Früh, wann die Hähne krähen'. His sister's recitations of verse were Rosenkranz's first experience of the German language: 'Aus ihrem Munde erklang mir künstlerisch zum ersten Mal die deutsche Sprache'.¹⁰⁶ This was a case of immediate attraction to German which was to last until his death.

Rosenkranz describes the peasant life without sentimentality. What is unusual about his verse is his particular closeness to the elements of nature and to those suffering innocently. His compassion is seen in many of the individual portraits he composes: a dying soldier, a mother in despair, farmers returning home after a long day's work. His verse tells the story of personal suffering. Dieter Schlesak thought that precisely this story telling was a central part of Rosenkranz's style:

Und das erzählerische Element kommt noch hinzu, die "bänkelsängerischen Zugriffe", "unter denen das gemeinhin als nichtgestaltbar Angesehene Gegenständlichkeit jenseits unfreiwilliger Beschönigung gewinnt", zielen in diese Richtung eines Erzählgedichts, in dem freilich auch das eigentliche Element von Rosenkranz, wie sie schon von Sperber 1936 beschrieben worden ist, zum Zuge kommt: "Gegenständlichkeit und Sinnenfreudigkeit," "die erdhafte Bukolik", die sogar in der neuen Thematik aufgehoben sein kann. Ja, dieses Elementare, diese Nähe zum leidenden Körper, zu Kindern, Tieren und zur Natur, die chassidisch, aber auch franziskanisch inspiriert ist.¹⁰⁷

The 'bänkelsängerische' character of the poems refers to the way in which a story would be told and set to music, concentrating on the visual and auditory aspects of the scene, often with a moralistic conclusion. As a form it was used from the 17th century onwards and in its

¹⁰⁶ Moses Rosenkranz: *Kindheit*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁷ www.geocities.com/Area/Shadowlands/7860mrosen.html#I. [accessed: 8 February 2008].

simplicity it could speak to all segments of the population. This aspect of Rosenkranz's writing corresponds to his desire to remain down to earth and accessible to all kinds of readers. Story-telling in ballads was a major feature of Rosenkranz's writing and the deeper quality of his compassion saves his verse from being banal by his careful observation of details.

A childhood friend had introduced Rosenkranz to the writings of his father's library and thanks to this event he began reading Wieland, Herder, Homer, and Lessing. According to a letter from the Rosenkranz-Margul-Sperber correspondence this friend was the painter Paul Konrad Hönich, who later emigrated to Israel.¹⁰⁸ It was thanks to this early acquaintance that Rosenkranz gradually pieced his education together in an eclectic and haphazard manner. He did have some support from home however, as his mother ordered illustrated editions of Schiller and Goethe's works for her daughters', hoping that their reading would improve their chances of finding a good husband; these provided Rosenkranz with at least meagre introductions to German literature. By the time he began reading books he had chosen himself he had decided that it was in German that he wanted to write. Yet in order to do so he had to get rid of the 'polyglottischen Notballast meiner Kindheit und rodete in meinem Gedächtnis das Ruthenische, Polnische, Jüdische, Hebräische und Tschechische aus, was mich nicht Schweiß kostete, denn sie hatten dort nicht innig und bloß auf kleinen Flächen Wurzel gefasst'.¹⁰⁹ This difficulty of choosing the right language was clearly not unusual in Czernovitz: Charles Bliss (Karl Blitz), in *An der Zeiten der Ränder*, recalled his refusal to speak any of the languages that his parents spoke:

In Czernowitz lebten viele Nationalitäten, und meine Eltern und Brüder lernten im Geschäft die Kunden in deutscher Sprache, Jiddisch, Ukrainisch, Polnisch, Russisch und Rumänisch zu bedienen. Ich aber weigerte mich irgendeine dieser Sprachen zu lernen. Es erschien mir unsinnig und unlogisch, daß ein und derselbe Gegenstand in so verschiedener Weise, in so verschiedenen Worten ausgedrückt werden sollte.¹¹⁰

The mixture of languages could also be very disorienting for children and Bliss's reaction of not learning any language is a common case of silence as a response to too much linguistic information. The variety of languages clearly resulted in linguistic overdrive in some cases and resignation in others.

¹⁰⁸ 'Briefe von Moses Rosenkranz an Alfred Margul-Sperber (1930-1963)', ed. by George Guțu, ZGR 1-2 (7-8), 1995, (Bucharest: Charne Scott), p. 198.

¹⁰⁹ *Kindheit*, p. 165.

¹¹⁰ *An der Zeiten Ränder*, p. 96.

By deciding to write about what he had seen and to use traditional ways of ordering words, Rosenkranz chose a range which served his purposes. He saw the German language as the ground he could plough and plant, the earth he could stand on. It was safe from outsiders because it was inside him.

Einklang

Im Untergang der Dichtung
das Ohr am Schulterblatt
fand ich meine Richtung
indem ich rückwärts trat

Im eignen Erbe ging ich
drin auch ein deutsches Teil
deutsch an zu summen fing ich
gespaltner Brust zum Heil

Der Schmerzen Glut entwand ich
des Worts durchdringend Licht
und so gerüstet fand ich
ja fand ich zum Gedicht¹¹¹

This undated poem expresses most clearly Rosenkranz's choice to listen to the voice of his own heritage in order to find his direction. The idea of finding his way to the German language is intrinsically linked with the notion of a German from the past. The 'Untergang der Dichtung' could refer to the first half of the twentieth century which was not necessarily propitious for writing poetry. Yet his move 'rückwärts', a movement towards the past, indicates the inclination towards German as a culture which was much deeper than the manifestations he was experiencing during his lifetime. His relationship with the German language has mystical qualities, as the word seems to provide light and protection (line 10). Rosenkranz clearly saw his own use of German for poetry as an antidote to the way the language was used around him. The 'Einklang' of the title suggests that it was poetry itself which became his remedy for the evil around him.

It is often pointed out that Bukovina writers remained loyal to the German language.¹¹² Remaining 'loyal to German' also implies a relationship to a language as if the language were a person. The expression itself, which is often repeated in texts about Bukovina authors is a curious mixture of sentimentality and objectivity. How can one be loyal to a language? It suggests that the language had been good to the person who remained loyal to it, that there had been a special complicity between the two. Part of the literary heritage of the Bukovina is

¹¹¹ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Einklang', *Im Untergang*, p. 7.

¹¹² See Amy Colin, *Versunkene Dichtung der Bukowina*, p. 23.

that those who grew up there saw the benefit they received from the German language as much more valuable than what they had lost through their brutal experiences of the same language. Being 'loyal to a language' implies that there had been a breach of trust along the way. These feelings reflect the way the communication patterns between people were transferred into a literary discourse, which could somehow refer to the common experience of the writers. It means that those who used German were true to the German-speaking culture as a whole, of which they felt a part.

One social reason for this affection for the familiar form was the poets' loyalty to the Austrian culture. Sebald observes that the writing of Jewish-Austrian authors was characterized by the balance between loyalty and criticism: 'Kritik und Treue halten einander in den Werken der jüdisch-österreichischen Autoren auf das genaueste die Waage, und man ginge gewiss nicht fehl, bezeichnete man dieses Gleichgewicht als eines der Inspirationszentren der österreichischen Literatur in ihrer produktivsten Zeit'.¹¹³ Sebald's claim is that the tension between the loss of the country and the loyalty to it was part of what makes the literature of the period so inspiring. 'Der Großteil des jüdischen Bürgertums pflegte und hütete getreulich sein österreichisch-deutsches 'Kulturgut'. In jeder 'besseren Familie' fand man die deutschen Klassiker und Romantiker'.¹¹⁴ It was this model of language that formed the Bukovina poets' notion of what verse should be, of what kinds of worlds could be created on the printed page.

In Rosenkranz's case, it seems that the discovery of the need to write came at the same time as the choice of the language in which to do so. His was the process of acquiring a language as a means of artistic expression rather than using a language one already had and raising it to the level of poetry. Therefore the relationship to it is different from that of the other Bukovina poets who had used German from the beginning. His 'construction' of a language of his own could be seen as a reflection of the rebuilding of a house to call home every time his family moved. The choice of one language was therefore also a way of creating the stability that had been denied him linguistically and in a material sense.

Only five works of Moses Rosenkranz have been re-published so far: *Kindheit, Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997*, *Untergang* and *Untergang II* and *Visionen*, Rimbaud, 2007. Although *Die Tafeln*, *Fensterscheiben* have not been reissued several of the poems from these collections were published in the *Untergang* collections in the most recent *Visionen*. The New York Leo Baeck material shows that Rosenkranz rearranged his poems into several

¹¹³ W.G. Sebald, *Die Beschreibung des Unglücks, Zur Österreichischen Literatur von Stifter bis Handke*; 4th edn, (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003), p. 14.

¹¹⁴ Ilana Shmueli, *Paul Celan-Ilana Shmueli Briefwechsel*, ed. by Thomas Sparr, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), p. 156.

collections, often changing the name of the titles. In *Visionen* many poems are printed which had already been published in the other anthologies. In the four years after he was released from the Gulag Rosenkranz wrote several prose fragments: *Der Hund* and *Die Leiden der Eltern*, as well as a collection of poems *Aurora* and a verse epic *Der rote Sturm*, but these were never published.¹¹⁵ As previously mentioned the sequel to the first part of his autobiography still awaits publication.

Rosenkranz's unpublished correspondence with his first wife Anna Ruebner-Rosenkranz at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York is a substantial collection of his letters, poems and essays. It provides valuable information to his biography and to the understanding of the role of writing in his life. In these letters there are references to other works, such as the radio plays he was working on in 1936 (*Zwei Gewitter*), the biography of the queen of Romania¹¹⁶, two comedies in 1957, translations of Romanian folk songs, essays, pieces for radio and television. His poems were carefully prepared for publication, with the pagination and forewords included. In almost two thousand letters to Anna, Rosenkranz's love for her is expressed in words week after week, year after year, with often only a day or two between letters. In them he describes how much he misses her, his need to write, and his financial crises. These are the three main themes running through his letters, from the first letters in 1934 to Anna's death in 1999. Throughout their relationship Anna seems to have been the one who was responsible for the practical arrangements of organising accommodation, or for contacting those people who could help to get Rosenkranz published. There are many passages in which he asks her to speak to a particular person in the hope of obtaining a contract. The ensuing tension between the necessities of the material world and his desire to write is expressed with great frequency in his letters: 'Doch suche ich kein anderes als das Glück in der Kunst'¹¹⁷ or 'schäme dich nicht unserer materiellen Armut.'¹¹⁸ He even goes as far as to suggest that he can create a home by writing: 'Vielleicht, daß ich uns eine Wohnung erschreibe'.¹¹⁹ This is the closest he comes to actually calling language his home and it is as a result of the seemingly never-ending poverty that kept him separated from his wife.

His refusal to accept the fact that he was not successful as a writer led to a difficult marriage. Perhaps Anna could have offered him more of a home than he was ever able to find in poetry,

¹¹⁵ Moses Rosenkranz, *Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997*, p. 161.

¹¹⁶ *Traum und Leben einer Königin*, (Leipzig: Paul List, 1935).

¹¹⁷ Rosenkranz unpublished letter to Esther Burckhardt, 25.3.1947. Moses Rosenkranz collection AR 25807, microfilm reel 3, frame 548, Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

¹¹⁸ Rosenkranz unpublished letter to Anna, 16.4.1936. Moses Rosenkranz collection AR 25807, microfilm reel 1, frame 050, Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

¹¹⁹ Rosenkranz unpublished letter to Anna, Moses Rosenkranz collection AR 25807, microfilm reel 1, frame 151, Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

but he insisted on earning a living by writing and thus remained bitterly poor. He knew that he would not be recognised as a writer: 'Eine Anerkennung meiner Gedanken werde ich zu Lebzeiten nicht erreichen. Post mortem interessiert sie mich nicht'.¹²⁰ He was not seriously convinced that he would not be acknowledged during his life time though, as his correspondence with many journalists and publishers in the 1930s show.¹²¹ During this time he was in contact with Alfred Kittner, Rose Ausländer, the authors Erwin Wittstock, Ernst Jekelius and in 1940 he had even sent his poems to Hermann Hesse in the hope of a reply.¹²²

Despite his desire for recognition, Rosenkranz did not always conform to standard academic and literary practises. He did not consider the dates of his poems to be relevant for instance and he revised much of his work over the years. 'Ich lehne die Jahreszahlen zu meinen Gedichten als irreführend ab: Meine poetische Arbeit und mein Leben sind eine Einheit, die sich nicht in Daten einteilen läßt'.¹²³ This kind of determination about his work led to different kinds of problems. Dieter Schlesak comments:

Daher die oft nicht gerechtfertigte Weigerung auch nur ein Wort in seinen Gedichten zu ändern, was zum aufrechten und rebellischen Charakter des Autors gehört, der sich nie und nirgends, weder im Leben noch im Schreiben von irgend jemanden hat dreinreden lassen. Diese Härte war oft seine Rettung, aber öfter noch Ursache von Leid und Mißerfolg. So daß Gedichte dann wegen eines einzigen, störenden Wortes oder fehlerhaften Satzes verdorben und unlesbar werden, und es ist auch nicht immer eine Qualitätsverbesserung eines früheren Gedichts, wenn, wie es bei Moses Rosenkranz geschieht, zahlreiche spätere Fassungen entstehen, es kann sogar sein, daß sie in einem zweiten schöpferischen Schub vom Autor "verschlimmbessert" werden; so sind nicht alle Überarbeitungen in den beiden bisher von ihm selbst ausgewählten, in Deutschland erschienen Bänden "Im Untergang" und "Im Untergang II" gelungen; die eher verhindert haben, das Rosenkranz bekannt und auch jenseits des Regionalen akzeptiert wurde. Viele, die über Rosenkranz geschrieben haben, beklagen es. Er selbst sagt heute: „Ich bin ein mieser Leser insonderheit eigener Texte“.¹²⁴

The figure of the minor poet within the spectrum of Bukovina poetry is all the more tragic when one considers the richness of the literary landscape on the one hand and the animosity that existed between the poets even in the 1940s on the other. Helmut Braun's collection of Rose Ausländer's correspondence reveals to the envy and self-interest with which

¹²⁰ Rosenkranz unpublished letter to Anna Rosenkranz, 12.2.63. Moses Rosenkranz collection AR 25807, microfilm reel 2, frame 019, Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

¹²¹ 'Briefe von Moses Rosenkranz an Alfred Margul-Sperber (1930-1963)', ed. by George Guțu, ZGR 1-2 (7-8), 1995, (Bucharest: Charne Scott), p. 188.

¹²² Ibid., p. 185.

¹²³ Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997, p. 139.

¹²⁴ www.geocities.com/Area/Shadowlands/7860mrosen.html#I [Accessed 15 May 2008].

Rosenkranz, and other Bukovina poets were ravaged, even before the Bukovina became famous as a region for German poetry.

Rose Ausländer kannte die veröffentlichten Gedichte von Rosenkranz. Sie kannte ihn auch persönlich, allerdings war dies, wie sich aus Informationen seiner damaligen Ehefrau ergibt, sowohl in Czernowitz als auch in Bukarest kein intensiver oder gar freundschaftlicher Umgang. Schon in einem Brief an Margul-Sperber vom 24. Juli 1935 gab Ausländer zu erkennen, dass sie die Gedichte von Rosenkranz nicht besonders schätzte. Sie führt aus, dass ihr die Gedichte Goldfelds weit besser zu(sagen) als die Dichtung des gewiss sehr bedeutenden Rosenkranz. Die allzu geschliffene, architektonische Form d.(es) R.(osenkranz) erinnert doch zu sehr an den Germanen St. George, der, bei aller reinen Schönheit des Gestalteten, mich doch kalt ließ. Margul-Sperber machte aus seiner Einschätzung des Ranges der Gedichte, die er für Ausländers Band *Der Regenbogen* aussuchte, kein Geheimnis. Er schrieb: Ich halte Ihre Gedichte für ungleich bedeutsamer als die Rosenkranzischen.¹²⁵

Clearly other publishers since have thought the same and this was a topic that made Rosenkranz particularly bitter: 'Jüngere Dichter, die die Bukowina bedeutend früher als ich verlassen konnten, hatten das Glück, von den Wellen einer bestimmten Konjunktur hochgespielt zu werden. Mir fehlte diese Lobby, und ich habe sie auch nicht gesucht'.¹²⁶ Although he did look for people who could help him, Rosenkranz managed to lose those friends who could have helped him. Not capable of recognizing hardly any other talent than his own, he was quick to lambast other writers.

In 1978, when Rosenkranz was living in Germany, he wrote to Ausländer, who meanwhile had become a famous poet, asking for help with publishing his poems. She, however, remembered that in 1940 he had only considered Margul-Sperber and Alfred Kittner as poets among all the Bukovina writers and refused to meet him.¹²⁷ His reaction was to slander her by claiming that she had not been in Czernovitz during the Shoa:

Rosenkranz revanchiert sich umgehend. Er verleumdet Ausländer, indem er behauptet, diese sei während der Shoa nicht in Czernowitz gewesen. Vielmehr sei sie als amerikanische Spionin von den USA Anfang 1940 nach New York ausgeflogen worden. Ihre Verfolgung in der Nazizeit sei frei erfunden, alle Personen, auf die sie sich als Zeugen berufe, seien tot. Diese Lügengeschichte erzählte Rosenkranz u.a. dem Freiburger Germanisten Gerhart Baumann, der damals bereits seit einigen Jahren

¹²⁵ http://www.e-scoala.ro/germana/helmut_braun26.html [accessed 5 February 2008]. (Correspondence between Ausländer and Margul-Sperber were published in *Neue Literatur*, Bucharest, Jg. 39 (1988), issues 8 and 9.

¹²⁶ Moses Rosenkranz, *Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997*, p. 148.

¹²⁷ Briefe von Moses Rosenkranz an Alfred Margul-Sperber (1930-1963)', ed. by George Guțu, ZGR 1-2 (7-8), 1995, (Bucharest: Charne Scott), p.185.

einen regelmäßigen Briefwechsel mit Ausländer führte. Baumann glaubte Rosenkranz und brach die Kontakte zu Ausländer ab. Erst Jahre später, nachdem ihm aufgrund verschiedener Publikationen über Ausländer bekannt wurde, dass er einer Täuschung aufgesessen war, beschäftigte er sich wieder mit dem Werk der Dichterin.¹²⁸

It was also my impression in the few telephone calls with Doris Rosenkranz in February 2004 that the names of Celan, Ausländer and Kittner were mentioned with little respect or affection, as if Rosenkranz had been in a competitive relationship with them. Helmut Braun recalls a conversation in which Kittner uttered his judgement of Rosenkranz, who had apparently accused Celan of the death of his own parents:

In einem Gespräch Silbermann / Kittner / Köhl / Braun nahm Alfred Kittner zu diesen Vorfällen Stellung: Rosenkranz war der übelste Intrigant, der jemals auf zwei Beinen in Czernowitz herumgelaufen ist. Er war von Neid geplagt und vom Ehrgeiz zerfressen, der beste Czernowitzer Dichter zu sein. Solche Anerkennung zu erringen, war ihm jedes Mittel recht. Edith Silbermann stimmte dem zu.¹²⁹

And although Braun tries to settle the matter peacefully, there seems to be little doubt that Rosenkranz had a difficult character:

Die einzig mögliche Schlussfolgerung ist, dass unter den Czernowitzer Dichtern ein heftiger Konkurrenzkampf bestand und das sich dabei Rosenkranz besonders unrühmlich hervortat. Auch scheint das kulturelle Feld, auf dem diese Dichter in Czernowitz ackerten, nicht besonders ergiebig gewesen zu sein.¹³⁰

This unhappy side of Rosenkranz's personality has nonetheless not deterred Wolf Biermann, Matthias Huff, Klaus Werner, Dieter Schlesak and others from supporting Rosenkranz and defending his place in the poetry from the Bukovina.

Seine Gedichte [...] denen eine einnehmende Sprachmelodik und eine unverwechselbare Bildlichkeit eigen sind, die aus dem Erlebnisraum seiner buchenländischen Heimat und aus den Erfahrungen seines außergewöhnlichen Lebens gespeist werden, haben Rosenkranz einen herausragenden Platz im Rahmen der Bukowina Literatur gesichert.¹³¹

¹²⁸ http://www.e-scoala.ro/germana/helmut_braun26.html [accessed 5 February 2008]

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Stefan Sienerth, in *Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997*, p. 146.

The other side of the animosity between the poets is the positive way in which the Bukovina poets influenced each other. This has been examined in detail by George Guțu and for this study the main object of interest is Rosenkranz's poem 'Die Blutfuge', written in 1942. Rosenkranz's widow, Doris Rosenkranz, claims that he had shown Celan this poem when they were in the labour camp together in Transnistria and that the latter used the imagery found in this poem for his 'Todesfuge'.

Die Blutfuge

O Bach von Blut! auf gelbe Bernsteintasten
Ergießend sich aus offenen Fingerstummen
So muß ein Herz zu s einem Grabe hasten
Durch starkes feierliches Orgelsummen

So muß ein junges Leben Partituren
erfülln mit seinem vollen Herzensschlag
beseelt ertönt durch rote Abendfluren
was stumm im Staube welker Blätter lag

Was laut im Feuer keuscher Jünglingslieder
Gerauscht verebbt und geht gemach zur Neige
Am Sterbenden vergehn mit ihm die Lieder
Ein Celloruf und eine letzte Geige

Tot auf den Tasten ruhn die Fingerstummen
die Seele zittert in den Pfeifen nach
durch hohles Grabes tiefes Orgelbrummen
tropft wieder Jesu Blut: O Blut von Bach!¹³²

The fascinating connection between Celan and Rosenkranz is to be found among the documents in Rosenkranz's widow's collection, where there is a letter that Theodor Adorno wrote to Rosenkranz, asking him not to publish Rosenkranz's 'Blutfuge' in the year when Celan was already being plagued by the Yvan Goll plagiarism scandal. George Guțu writes:

Im Besitz der Familie Rosenkranz befindet sich ein Brief von Theodor Adorno, in dem sich dieser zu einigen ihm zugeschickten Gedichten von Moses Rosenkranz äußert. Adornos Antwort erfolgte in dem Jahr, in dem Paul Celan seinem Bukarester Freund, dem Schriftsteller Petre Solomon, voller Verzweiflung schrieb: 'Je suis – nous sommes tout-à-fait seul...[...] qu'on me présente partout comme Le Voleur'. "Es ist keine Indiskretion, wenn ich Ihnen sage, daß er [Celan] in einem überaus labilen Zustande sich befindet ...die Publikation dieses Gedichts [der 'Blutfuge' von Rosenkranz] , daß durch den Titel allein schon an sein eigenes

¹³² Moses Rosenkranz, 'Die Blutfuge', *Im Untergang, Ein Jahrhundertbuch*, p. 84.

berühmtestes mahnt, könnte ihn in einer Weise treffen, die nicht vorher sich sagen läßt".¹³³

Although this fact can be seen as an unjust favouritism on Adorno's part of one poet instead of another, in fact the 'Blutfuge' and the 'Todesfuge' have little in common. Both use the image of the musical fugue in the title and then refer to music accompanying the march towards death, both contrast the sophistication of German culture to the baseness of murder. A violin appears in both poems. Other than the general theme of music and death during the Holocaust the poems have very few similarities.

This detail of the possible influence of Rosenkranz on Celan's most famous poem is a small nugget in the very rich subject matter of the community of Bukovina poets. The fact that Rosenkranz had written this poem earlier than Celan's 'Todesfuge' and that the latter may have read it when they were in the labour camp together only serves to show how fruitful the effect of the poets' works were on each other. Guțu is correct to claim that in fact Celan saved the memory of Weissglas and Rosenkranz, precisely because of these mutual influences:

Die Modernität des lyrischen Diskurses von Paul Celan, der von Anfang an als Bildungsliriker aufgetreten ist, der sich in akademischen Kreisen einer außerordentlichen Beliebtheit erfreut, rettete – so paradox dies klingen mag – zwei andere rumäniendeutsche Dichter: Moses Rosenkranz und Immanuel Weissglas.¹³⁴

Rosenkranz's life was full of hostility towards some of those whom he had initially considered friends. His own misjudgement of the effect of his own verse and the way others received it made him turn friends into enemies, as was the case with him and Margul-Sperber, Ausländer and Kittner. As Guțu comments, the mutual influences among the poets had both positive and negative results. 'Die Interkulturalität und die literarische In-Formation zeitigen scheinbar nicht selten auch bitter-böse Folgen – ebenso wie die Sprachkommunikation nicht nur Nähe, sondern oft auch Ferne, Entfremdung, Ausgrenzung und Frustration schaffen kann'.¹³⁵

Although the animosity and rivalry among the Bukovina poets is well-documented, the region nevertheless maintains its reputation for having been a peaceful interaction among writers.

¹³³ George Guțu, 'Paul Celan – zwischen Intertextualität und Plagiat oder interreferentielle Kreativität', in TRANS, Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften, 3.6. 'Kulturelle und Sprachvielfalt. Koexistenz, Interferenzen und Divergenzen in pluriethnischen Regionen', May 2004: http://www.inst.at/trans/15Nr/03_6/Gutu15.htm [accessed 1 September 2008].

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

That they could be a source of deep comfort for each other and for poets elsewhere is also evident.

Nelly Sachs's correspondence with Paul Celan shows how they both perceived words to be what restored a sense of belonging: 'Sie haben mir mit Ihren Gedichten eine Heimat gegeben, von der ich glaubte daß der Tod sie mir erobern würde. So halte ich hier aus'.¹³⁶ The words constitute the frame of belonging between the writer and the reader. In the weeks before he drowned, Celan was writing to Ilana Schmuely, in a final effort to find someone who could understand him: 'Deine Briefe, Dein Zu-mir-Sein bedeuten mir viel, sehr viel'.¹³⁷

Another Czernovitz example of the importance of words when creating *Heimat* is from a friend of Selma Meerbaum: 'Mit den Gedichten Selmas hab' ich die Heimat herumgetragen und hierher gebracht' wrote Renée Abramovici-Michaeli about Selma Meerbaum's poems that had been saved when she and her family were deported from Czernovitz, and which she, Renée, managed to bring to Israel in 1948. For her the poems were more important than anything more physical like the soil she could have carried with her. Not only were they a reminder of her friend, they seemed to encapsulate their home country.¹³⁸

Rosenkranz himself refused to be put in the same category as other writers from the region. He saw his writing as something which originated from his personal experience, almost as if it had been a force which had struck him alone:

Über die deutschsprachige Dichtung der Bukowina ist vor allem in den letzten Jahren viel Gescheites, aber auch weniger Gescheites geschrieben worden. Ich für meine Person möchte dazu folgendes anmerken: Eine Bukowiner Dichtung, wie sie den Literaturhistorikern vorschwebt und wie diese sie in wissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen zu rekonstruieren versuchen, hat es nie gegeben. Es gab nur einzelne Schreibende, und jeder hat auf seine Weise zur Literatur gefunden.¹³⁹

His character and his insistence on the originality of his verse isolated him from his contemporaries and in terms of the publication of his works. His individualistic approach to writing nevertheless resulted in him becoming a member of the group of Bukovina writers, which included Klara Blum, Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger, Alfred Gong, Alfred Kittner, Alfred Margul-Sperber, Else Keren, Immanuel Weißglas, Rose Ausländer and Paul Celan, and it is

¹³⁶ Nelly Sachs, letter to Paul Celan, 19 December 1959 in *Paul Celan – Nelly Sachs Briefwechsel*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993), p. 28.

¹³⁷ *Paul Celan-Ilana Schmuely Briefwechsel*, ed. by Ilana Schmuely and Thomas Sparr, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), letter dated 6 March 1970, p. 113.

¹³⁸ Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger, *Ich bin in Sehnsucht eingehüllt*, (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2000), p. 21.

¹³⁹ Moses Rosenkranz: interview with Stefan Sienerth, *Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997*, p. 147.

as such that he will be remembered. Rosenkranz was dedicated to words for such a long period of time that he is in a special position to examine what the term *Sprache als Heimat* can mean.

Part 2: The effects of loss

Heimat and its mindscapes

In everyday language *Heimat* refers to a place one knows well. In the German language the word *Heimat* has had an itinerary of its own, from the innocent to the nationalistic tones that have come to be associated with it. In spite of the use and abuse that the word has endured, it still seems to have kept its power to evoke a sense of safety and belonging in the minds of German speakers. The ambiguity of *Heimat* is partly inherent in the semantics of the word. It can mean a country or a feeling of being at home, and it has many different nuances. *Heimat* as used in German does not have a direct equivalent in English, as *home* only refers to a small part of what *Heimat* means. *Heimat* implies a complex mixture of ideas, meaning the country, its language or dialect, customs, landscape and people, a place where one feels comfortable, or where the communities of residents may have the same way of understanding the world. The proper translation for the word *Heimat* can be *home*, or *home country* or *homeland*. *Heimat* means more than the house and is more personal than a 'homeland'. In this study the word *Heimat* is left in German because of the particular connotations that German poetry and philosophy give to the term.

In the study entitled *Heimat, a German Dream* the word is also kept in the original with the following explanation:

The core meaning of the word *Heimat*, its denotation, is *home* in the sense of a place rather than a dwelling, but as the many combinations such as Heimatstadt (home town), Heimatland (native land), Heimaterde (native soil) Heimatliebe (patriotism, whether local or national), Heimatrecht (right of domicile), Heimatvertriebene (refugees driven out from a homeland), Heimatforschung (local history), Heimatkunde (local geography, history and natural history) suggest, it bears many connotations, drawing together associations which no single English word could convey.[...] Hidden within the difficulty of translation lies the sediment of the troubled history of the German-speaking lands.¹⁴⁰

The nationalistic sediment is what has made the word so ambiguous. It sounds reassuring for some and ominous for others. It is not a term to which German speakers react neutrally, and its emotional content remains powerful, whether positively or negatively charged. In everyday language it is understood as the country and within that country as the region in which one grew up. On a personal level *Heimat* is a mixture of the house and the family, of feelings and a location; the word suggests comfort, a sense of protection and familiarity.

¹⁴⁰ Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, *Heimat a German Dream*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 1.

In archetypal social patterns such as those described in the Old Testament, *Heimat* is always positive and the *Fremde* always a punishment. The banishments of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, of Cain from his homeland, and of humanity as a whole from the earth at the Flood were the consequences of disobedience to the Creator. When different groups of people tried to make a city that reached to the skies by building the tower of Babel they were dispersed and separated by different languages, thereby weakening their power. Here land, language and community are each decentralised and the punishment for disobedience was to break the former unity. Land was seen as a gift from God to be worked on and where the family could live. Language too was a gift that reflected the unity of the people. Therefore making everyone speak different languages is understood as God's way of curbing the people's wish to glorify themselves. People were made to speak different languages at the same time as they were sent to live in various countries. This illustrates how language and territory were seen as the two main parts of the concept of home in a biblical context.

This same basic but nevertheless crucial observation was spelt out by Andrea Bastian in her study on *Heimat*.¹⁴¹ She states that territory and community are the two main components of membership to a particular group. Territory can mean the house, the flat, the village, the region, the country. The community is that of the family, friends, or colleagues. Territory and community as terms are a clearer description of a concept which is so often vaguely understood as a location. Home as a location is the easiest to define, the most objective reference but in the interaction between location, people and ideas there are many variations on the theme of what constitutes home. This wide range of meanings and connotations that the word *Heimat* contains are the research premises for how they interrelate with language.

There are, however, also the traditional clear-cut ways of understanding *Heimat*: 'Bei dem Wort Heimat wird uns allemal warm ums Herz. Heimat, das ist die Gegend, in der wir Kind waren'.¹⁴² Iring Fetscher's statement falls into a fairly straight-forward single or dual cultural setting. This context is perhaps the most wide-spread and common experience of home and her article is useful for presenting a typical definition of the kind of home that is seen as the norm of growing up peacefully in one place. This *Heimat* ideal may be going out of fashion and yet it is inscribed in many people's thinking as a desirable state. 'Heimatliebe, so meine These, verbindet sich zumeist mit der Sehnsucht zurück zur Kindheit und ihren glücksverheißenden Möglichkeiten.'¹⁴³ *Heimat* as a slice of childhood is seen here as

¹⁴¹ Andrea Bastian, *Heimat: Der Heimat-Begriff*, (Tübingen: Niemeyer 1995, Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 159).

¹⁴² Iring Fetscher, 'Heimatliebe—Brauch und Mißbrauch eines Begriffs' in *Heimat im Wort*, ed. by Rüdiger Görner (Munich: iudicium, 1992), p. 17.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 16.

retaining the power to evoke the happiness of the past, even if the past is constructed in the mind of the one looking back. In many cases the wish of having had the absolute security of a protected childhood conjures up images of a fortunate past and this type of *Heimat* may have more to do with the way one remembers than with the way that period or that home actually was. Fetscher's essay defends the positive value of *Heimat*. 'Wer seine Heimat liebt, ruht in sich.'¹⁴⁴ This version of the term maintains the old categories, assuming that people can relate to having one country from which they come and one in which they might then end up living. As a most basic understanding of the term this view is valuable now because of its resonance. There is still a wide-spread longing for this kind of attachment, despite the manipulation of these emotions in political debates about immigration.

The security of acknowledging one's attachment to a particular place provides the freedom to remain in that location or to choose a different place if rational reasons make it necessary. This self-assurance of knowing where one comes from is a crucial dimension of what having a *Heimat* means. The less it is a topic, the more it seems to be a reality. *Heimat*, as a subject of reflection, is often based on the loss of it. For those who do not have an area or country to which they feel they belong, the need to create that home at another level is a more complicated and a potentially desperate task. Yet the longing always seems to be there for that *Heimat* which is a matter of course. Stable geographical and social ties may have more beneficial effects than factors such as education and wealth for which they are sacrificed. In the analysis of home and its influence on language, both the ideal case of a childhood untroubled by uprooting and that of a childhood with many losses must be considered. The idealised versions of home and the actual homes must be examined. The home that finally emerges is a mixture of the mental and the physical landscapes.

The Holocaust aggravated the already complex nature of the word *Heimat*. Whether until then it had been a way of reinforcing local identity, whether it had been seen as a political right or as an idyllic past, Nazi rhetoric took hold of the word and used it for its own ideology. 'In the writings of the Nazi ideologues of the 1930s, *Heimat* became simply one more term among many that revolved around the central themes of race, blood, and German destiny'.¹⁴⁵ For the non-German speaking world *Heimat* retains these somewhat threatening connotations, whereas for many in German speaking countries the word *Heimat* has managed to regain its innocence. For others *Heimat* still conveys a sense of ambiguity and unease because of the danger of it being misused for nationalistic purposes. Addressing the issue of rootedness and the problems of self-identity that National Socialism brought upon the German people, Lynn

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁴⁵ Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*, (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1990, p. 18.

Rapaport remarks on the way *Heimat* has had to be regained, in a new version of adherence to land, language and community:

The Holocaust destroyed this emotional attachment to Germany as a homeland for many Germans of the post-war generation. For a long time after the destruction of the Third Reich, and even nowadays, German youth have had difficulties developing a national identity and love for homeland. It is only in recent years, argues Joyce Mushaben, that the concept of *Heimat* has begun to re-emerge as a potential source of community and security.¹⁴⁶

With the Holocaust the whole notion of *Heimat* became tainted, and the word took on nationalistic overtones, so that many avoided the term altogether. The notion of *Heimat* has been usurped by the political right in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, and the rhetoric continues to be used to appeal to the sense of one territory being for one particular group of people.

Heimat is a well of innocence for its users and, as a word, always hovers at a boundary between the sayable and the unsayable. *Heimat*, a favored word among German writers, conveys a metaphysical dimension in the everyday: it struggles to bring language to a nonspeaking external world, a geography, a landscape, with which identification needs to be perfect; and it does so through an imagistic and, thus, regressive representation of an ideal life, or at least of a lost ideal stage in life.¹⁴⁷

Peter Blickle, in his study of *Heimat* 'inquires into the uncanny and persistent German longing for a space of innocence that *Heimat* always implies'.¹⁴⁸ He remarks on the way, after the eighteenth century, the crucifix was replaced by pictures of nature in the homes of German speaking families and investigates the way *Heimat* is needed as an innocent space, one where irony has no place.

In the nineteenth century *Heimat* was already becoming a remedy for the loss of familiar rural and political structures. It began to represent some of the elements of familiarity that were being eroded by the expansion of trade and machinery. *Heimat* became synonymous of an imagined space where the threat of industrialisation was kept at bay, where the smaller structures of village life and the beauty of the natural world were emphasised in order to provide compensation for the uncertainty of the changes at large. In this sense *Heimat* became

¹⁴⁶ Lynn Rapaport, *Jews in Germany after the Holocaust: Memory, Identity and Jewish-German relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1997, p. 132.

¹⁴⁷ Peter Blickle, *Heimat, A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland*, (Rochester: Camden House, 2002), p. 138.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

a type of security that could be felt in songs and poetry, a relief from the speed of the growing cities:

Heimat ist hier ein Kompensationsraum, in dem die Versagungen und Unsicherheiten des eigenen Lebens ausgeglichen werden, in dem aber auch die Annehmlichkeiten des eigenen Lebens überhöht erscheinen: Heimat als ausgeglichene, schöne Spazierwelt. In den Bildern und Sprachbildern melden sich damals die festen Formeln des Pittoresken heraus, die bis heute für diese Vorstellung von Heimat maßgebend sind—Heimat als Besänftigungslandschaft, in der scheinbar die Spannungen der Wirklichkeit ausgeglichen sind.¹⁴⁹

This image of *Heimat* as a compensation for the trials of everyday life has permeated and determined large parts of the German speaking world's use of the word. In this tradition *Heimat* provides an unquestioned continuation of customs from the past where the individual need not take personal responsibility for the surrounding political context. The compensation that *Heimat* offers is in the reduction of the complexity of the social fabric, bringing it down to a size which can be comprehended, without needing to look at the way it interacts with international or global ties, with moral and political choices.

One way of getting a better grip on the term is by looking at its opposite. That which is foreign or strange is opposed to the feeling of *Heimat*. In German that strangeness can be divided into the three lexical variations arising from its gender. The neutral *Das Fremde*, refers to the thing or custom that is unknown. This could be a whole range of sensations or ideas. *Die Fremde* as the place which does not equate with *Heimat* and *der Fremde* meaning the person who is from elsewhere.¹⁵⁰ From this split into three parts of foreignness in Edzard Obendiek's observation one can derive three aspects of what home is not: the feeling of foreignness, the objective strangeness of a place and then the person as a stranger. The antonyms provide a helpful contrast of meanings, as they illustrate more clearly how feelings, places and people are what constitute *Heimat*.

Yet the other can only be approached by comparing it to the familiar. When trying to understand the significance of 'das Fremde', a historical approach shows that the Romantics had seen it as something within oneself and had seen homelessness as the site for a true recognition of self. Rüdiger Görner comments: 'Folglich befindet sich der Mensch immer im Zustand des Entfremdetseins, zumindest nach Auskunft der Romantiker, die nicht zögerten,

¹⁴⁹ Hermann Bausinger et al., *Heimat heute*, (Berlin, Köln, Mainz: Kohlhammer, 1984), p. 15.

¹⁵⁰ Edzard Obendiek, *Der lange Schatten des babylonischen Turmes: Das Fremde und der Fremde in der Literatur*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), p. 13.

ihre Identität im Entwurzeltsein zu suchen, im Fremden'.¹⁵¹ This way of finding belonging in the very fact of not being a part of one's environment has influenced much of the modern transfer from a location to an intellectual category of non-belonging.

Another case of opposites to the sense of home can be found in the German words *Heimweh* and *Fernweh*. They express the *weh*, the suffering or longing to go home or to get away, respectively. In English one can be *homesick*, but there is no word for the longing to be far away. In German both *Heimweh* and *Fernweh* indicate the wish to be elsewhere, therefore of not belonging, except to pain itself, the *weh* in *Heimweh* and *Fernweh*.

Wolfgang Müller-Funk's approach of putting both *Heimat* and *Fremde* into the plural is another useful way of deepening one's understanding of the word *Heimat*: 'Der grammatisch anstößige Plural (*Heimaten, Fremden*) könnte uns darauf verweisen, daß beides nicht mehr habhaft zu machen ist. Mit dem Plural einher geht eine Relativierung des Fundamentalismus, der dem Komplex Heimat/Fremde innewohnt.'¹⁵² This fragmentation of the terms has led to many new interpretations of the issue in the past decade. Homelessness has thus come to be used more and more metaphorically in the recent past, often referring to psychological states rather than physical realities. Yet as soon as the term is broadened to refer communities of a particular political orientation or certain interest groups it no longer refers to the protection a family can offer and to a minimum of material possessions necessary for survival. *Heimat* is then turned into a sub-group of shared affinities which is a far cry from the more fundamental need to have a shelter in which to live, which admittedly applies more to the house itself than to *Heimat*, but which can be seen as the nucleus of a *Heimat*. Peter Blickle also uses *Heimaten* in order to trace the way in which children, for instance, can make several locations into a *Heimat*. Quoting a letter from his father who was describing the experience of children who travelled a long way to go to school, he writes: 'our children simply have two Heimaten'.¹⁵³ Blickle analyses this by noting the way the geographical *Heimat* comes to represent an emotional entity: 'Parents and personal ties are expressed in terms of space'.¹⁵⁴

Heimat can also be seen as the very opposite of a comforting place, as the last place one wants to be in, a place of final resignation. This can be taken to the extreme of seeing *Heimat* as a grave. W.G. Sebald comes to this conclusion when exploring the meaning of *Heimat* in two of Karl Emil Franzos's short stories, where he sees the grave as a metaphor for *Heimat* and returning home being like dying.

¹⁵¹ Rüdiger Görner, 'Das Fremde und das Eigene' in *Mauer, Schatten, Gerüst: Kulturkritische Versuche*, (Tübingen: Klöpfer & Meyer, 1999), p. 26.

¹⁵² Wolfgang Müller-Funk (ed.), *Neue Heimaten, Neue Fremden*, (Vienna: Picus, 1992), p. 9.

¹⁵³ Peter Blickle, *Heimat*, p. 60.

¹⁵⁴ Peter Blickle, *Heimat*, p. 61.

Manches an der Geschichte von David Blum gemahnt schon an den Schloßroman Kafkas, in dem der Landvermesser K., ein Kräuterkundiger wie Blum, an einen ihm ebenso fremden wie altvertrauten Ort zurückkommt. Die Rückkunft in die Heimat ist aber, wie der tief resignative Ton beider Texte veranschaulicht, eine Metapher des Todes.¹⁵⁵

Sebald shows the way in which *Heimat* can become a deadly concept. Here returning means having failed. The *Heimat* was a place to grow out of, to leave behind and the departure is a rite of passage that is inherent to *Heimat*. It is usually after having left home that the questions of the importance of home and its relevance arise. The type of return that Sebald means is a collapse of the person's power to break out into another world. It means that *Heimat* is a trap, binding the one who returns to the past, to convention, to the laming force of excessive familiarity. In this case *Heimat* becomes uncomfortable; it stretches the word to its opposite.

The malleability of the concept remains however, despite the many angles on the theme. Blickle comments:

To have a Heimat and not know what Heimat is has been a dilemma of German thinkers for at least the last two centuries. But Heimat, [...] is also an idea that makes scholars feel uncomfortable. When dealing with it, intellectually and rationally trained minds have to work with an idea that often seems to defy rational analysis.¹⁵⁶

To the already many layers of meaning of the word *Heimat* as seen in German in general the specific attributes of the Bukovina *Heimat* in particular and of Rosenkranz's own understanding of the term were added in order to obtain a clearer image of the *Heimat* at stake. Finally, taking into account the many connotations of the word, perhaps it is precisely its potential for suggesting so much that made it possible to be used in the expression of *Sprache als Heimat*. The ambiguous quality of *Heimat* makes it stretch away from the purely historical or geographical categories that would be useful for research, but in this study *Heimat* will be seen as that of the Bukovina which was erased and then re-imprinted in poetry.

¹⁵⁵ W.G. Sebald, *Unheimliche Heimat*, 2nd edn, (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003), p. 54.

¹⁵⁶ Peter Blickle, p. 9.

Preserving the familiar

One consequence of the loss of the geographical *Heimat* was the attempt to retain any particle of familiarity in writing. Throughout the many personal losses in Rosenkranz's life he continued to write verse in familiar forms. For Rosenkranz tradition did not represent a context with which he was familiar, but rather one which he discovered and then chose to adhere to. In this sense tradition was not something he needed to break away from, but rather a good that he had adopted and then decided to keep. There are significant reasons for this decision to look backwards. Rosenkranz and others continued to use old forms even during and after the Holocaust and this was a way of being loyal to the type of language they had once chosen. Klaus Werner comments:

es könnte scheinen, als hätten die bukowinischen Lyriker, die die Verfolgung und Vernichtung thematisierten, poetologisch bewußtlos geschrieben, nämlich das Unfaßbare und mithin Unsägliche in alter Rede und traditionellen Lineaturen faßlich und aussprechbar machen wollen. Gleichsam gegen das –später relativierte Diktum Adornos, daß es barbarisch sei, nach Auschwitz Gedichte zu schreiben, oder die Überzeugung Brechts, daß die "Vorgänge in Auschwitz, im Warschauer Getto, in Buchenwald zweifellos keine Beschreibung in literarischer Form" (vertrügen), haben sie im "Glauben an die unerschütterliche Validität der deutschen dichterischen Sprache" (Amy Colin) den Holocaust tatsächlich ohne grundsätzliche Erneuerung ihres lyrischen Instrumentariums zu gestalten versucht.¹⁵⁷

Rosenkranz describes his craft as something he discovered more by chance than by effort. The following poem reveals his need for consolation in unreconciled surroundings.¹⁵⁸

Einstimmung zu einem mir entwendeten Manuskript

Nichts hatte ich der Welt zu sagen
die unversöhnlich ihre Bahnen zieht
mir selber suchte ich nur leis zu wagen
ein heilsam Lied

Ich tats auf deutsch wieso gekommen
die fremde Sprache mir ich weiß es nicht
sie hat mir tief im grauen Land entglommen
ihr heimlich Licht

Darunter ist dies Liederbuch entstanden
ein Buch des Trostes aus dem Raunenwort

¹⁵⁷ Klaus Werner, in *Fäden Ins Nichts Gespannt*, (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1998), p. 15-16.

¹⁵⁸ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Einstimmung zu einem mir entwendeten Manuskript', dated 1986, *Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997*, p. 86.

und selig war ich wenn in seinen Banden
es mich trug fort

Drum ließ ich gerne jede Gunst zurücke
es war der Leiden vielbegehrter Lohn
es war aus meiner stummen Qual die Brücke
zu diesem Ton

Nichts hatte ich der Welt zu künden
die unversöhnt in Blut und Tränen stand
mir selber suchte ich ein Lied zu finden
im tauben Land

The poem opens with the claim that the 'ich' only writes poetry in order to come to terms with the surrounding realities, rather than addressing the public. The weight on the words 'nichts' and 'selber' leads up to the actual reason for writing at the end of line four, which is the 'heilsam Lied'. The undeclined adjective emphasises the very personal and grammatically incorrect quest of finding personal solace in poetry, whilst introducing the arbitrary nature of the choice of German which is then addressed in the following line. The tone is colloquial in order to underline the fact that this was not his mother tongue. It was a 'fremde Sprache' and this is reinforced by the unusual word order of 'wieso gekommen/ die fremde Sprache mir ich weiß es nicht'. The relationship to language is characterised in the poem as being almost mystical: 'Sie hat mir tief im grauen Land entglommen/ ihr heimlich Licht' suggests that language was a source of secret inspiration amidst the darkness of the times or of his own personal experience but nothing is said directly about the historical events of the time other than that the 'unversöhnlich' in line two, the 'unversöhnt' and the 'Blut und Tränen' in line eighteen.

The theme of music returns in every stanza except the second, creating the image of poetry being like a gentle song, which provided consolation for the poet in the midst of suffering. The 'Liederbuch' that seems to arise out of the poet's personal need to write marks the moment when the passive role of receiving the language meets with the role of the poet as reader resulting in the image of the book being able to carry the lyrical subject away from the reality at hand. The autobiographical stance then continues in the fourth stanza with the subject seeing poetry (seen) as the reward for his sufferings and a bridge to the note of the song. The 'stumme Qual' could refer to the period of not speaking Rosenkranz went through as a child or to his inability to communicate when others refused to hear. The poem ends with the repetition of the lyrical subject not having anything to say to the outside world and with the view that individual solace was enough of a justification for the poet to write.

The simplicity of the verse can in itself be seen as a way of exiting from his situation. It is a form of liberation from the reality being endured.

Diese Wendung nach rückwärts, einem Rückwärts, das nicht hinten liegt sondern unten, ist fundamental für Moses Rosenkranz. Ist das Nostalgie, rückständig, gestrig? Zumindest ist der Einzelne hier in der Tradition nicht selbstverständlich geborgen, noch ist das Verhältnis unproblematisch und mühelos. [...] Tradition wird zur Waffe gegen die Defizite der Gegenwart. Hat diese Wendung nach unten nicht unbedingt etwas mit Fortschritt zu tun, so doch mit Befreiung.¹⁵⁹

Matthias Huff makes the point that tradition is used here not as an escape from reality but rather as a way of finding freedom within it. For Rosenkranz, a sense of liberation came precisely from being bound to the familiarity of the poets before him. The ambition was not to be a revolutionary writer, but to find a way of conveying the extreme harshness of his predicament. This 'weapon' against the deficits of the present, which were often brutal, provided a liberation because it affirmed the value of former types of stability. Other poets such as Weißglas took the same path. 'Er glaubte einfach, in der Tradition seinen entscheidenden Halt gefunden zu haben' commented Theo Buck on Weißglas.¹⁶⁰ The irony of finding a real support in tradition would become all too clear in retrospect.

Giving a recognisable shape to what had been endured was what gave Weißglas, Kittner, Rosenkranz and others the chance to order and assert their existence. The simplicity of form provided the satisfaction of a transformed reality without the rawness of a new attempt at expressing it. Theo Buck saw that Weißglas's ability to shape words as that which protected his existence: 'Ersichtlich war für ihn der Umgang mit dem gestalteten Wort unter dem Druck von Deportation, Todesdrohung und Gewalt eine existenzhaltende Möglichkeit – vermutlich die einzige'.¹⁶¹ The testimony to the power of words could provide the writer with a meaningful existence, regardless of how the world later judged the aesthetic qualities of the written work.

Literary critics often avoid the question of style in the writing of those who were persecuted. The historical context becomes more relevant than literary proficiency. As Wolfgang Georg Fischer observes: 'Mir fällt auf, dass wir bei Diskussionen über PEN-Club und Exil, Exilliteratur und Exilforschung, vor allem über Inhalte, Biographisches und Historisches, also

¹⁵⁹ Matthias Huff, 'Ich trug meine Dörfer in mir...' in *Kindheit*, p. 235.

¹⁶⁰ Theo Buck: 'Eine leise Stimme', in *Aschenzeit*, Immanuel Weißglas, p. 144.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 150.

über die *Ikonographie* sprechen, aber den Fragen der Form behutsam ausweichen'.¹⁶² In the case of this study the emphasis on the biographical and historical is due to the fact that the research is about the way the act of writing gave the Bukovina authors strength to continue living. It is also due to the instinct to respect that which has been written in times of severe tribulation. When the question of style enters the discussion on *Sprache als Heimat* it is part of the question of what type of language is meant. The 'iconography' of the victim is a justified reaction to the text, but it need not distract from the questioning of the ways in which writing can produce a sense of belonging.

Yet the question of the literary value of what was written during the 1930s and 1940s deserves the distinction between the respectful attention to the testimonies given, regardless of the quality of the form, and the aesthetic merit of a poem that manages to combine an original voice with an adequate form. Manfred Durzak claims that the transformation of the text into the appropriate literary document is what is crucial in evaluating the text, but that would be to assume that the literary quality of a text is always the most important factor of assessment. 'Nicht die politisch-moralische Gesinnung der Exillyrik kann das Kriterium einer Wertung abgeben, sondern die Einverwandlung dieser Gesinnung in eine ästhetische Form, die das entsprechende Dokument auch zu einem literarischen Zeugnis macht'.¹⁶³ Yet in the case of the Bukovina texts, the writers' resilience in face of calamities may be more valuable as a testimony than the aesthetic quality of the pieces. The writers from the Bukovina were often content to describe events and scenes as such without being worried about whether the form was adequate for the contents. Dieter Schlesak sees the choice of traditional form as being even more difficult for the content of Rosenkranz's poetry than if the poet had tried to distance himself from the events that had taken place:

Und die Freude beim ‚Wunder‘ des in der ‚wärmeren‘ und ‚menschlicheren‘ traditionellen Form gefundenen Spiegels, kann sogar größer sein, weil dies möglicherweise viel schwieriger ist, als in der distanzierenden modernen Form, wo sich dieses Ich in artistischen Strukturen verstecken kann, die schon Fertigteile für das Absurde und Paradoxe liefern, leicht ins Unverbindliche abgleiten können.¹⁶⁴

The clear presence of the 'I' in Rosenkranz's poems can be seen as a brave positioning of himself in relation to the events around him. This aspect of remaining traditional despite the

¹⁶² Wolfgang Georg Fischer, 'Der Österreichische PEN-Club im Exil oder Thomas Manns Brief Über Musil an Rudolf Olden' in *Die Rezeption des Exils*, (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003), p. 19.

¹⁶³ Manfred Durzak, 'Im Exil', in *Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik*, p. 505.

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.geocities.com/Area51/Shadowlands/7860/mrosen.html>. [Accessed 13 October 2008.]

shocks of the political disorders proved to be an expression of creed, rather than the inability to find new ways of writing.

Dieter Schlesak also refers to Klaus Werner's observations about the way the clash between familiar form and unfamiliar subject matter succeeds in articulating the very absurdity of the events:

Klaus Werner spricht von einer ins "Groteske mündende Artikulationsart", "Sarkasmus" und "Understatement auch in der traditionellen Bukowiner Lyrik, in der sich, "unter Beibehaltung überlieferter Formen, Gewohntes auf eine Weise aufbricht und Unvereinbares gestisch zusammenfügt". Genau dieses, bis hin ins Drastische, bis in die Nacktheit der Sprache, die wirklich so nackt ist, wie die weißen Knochen und der Hunger, genau dieses ist auch bei Rosenkranz das Faszinierende. Diese Zuwendung eben macht es möglich, daß gerade Zerstörung und Vernichtung so erschreckend nah und ergreifend gespiegelt werden kann.¹⁶⁵

This, then, is another way of interpreting the use of familiar forms to describe unfamiliar situations. Precisely because the style was not unusual did the content then seem all the more surprising. Rosenkranz brings together a form with which the reader is comfortable whilst describing events which are disconcerting. The very mundane quality of his verse makes the reader even more attentive to the content being conveyed because of the historical context in which it was being written.

Moses Rosenkranz's writing does not attempt to ignore the difficulties, or to make them palatable to his readers. Familiarity of form was crucial for him when reconstructing a world with reliable foundations. The journalist Wolf Biermann, who was one of the few to unequivocally support Rosenkranz, reflects on why Celan was received more enthusiastically than other Bukovina writers.

Viele Gründe mag es geben, einen weiß ich: Diese beiden [Rosenkranz and Weißglas] verharrten wie gefesselt im Ton derer, die am äußersten Rand des deutschen Sprachraums lebten. Ihr Deutsch dümpelte dort, wo es im Tümpel am Riesenrand des slawischen Weltmeeres gesprochen wurde. Altmodisches Taitsch. Nicht der lebendige Strom der Sprache. Rosenkranz verwendet plebejische Elemente wie "starken Schweiß" und redet rustikal von "der Scholle Dampf". Die Buchstabenbündel kommen aus der uralten deutschen Bauerntruhe mit oftmals auch jiddelndem Duktus in der Wortfolge. Das sinnlösende Verb, das die deutsche Sprache oft so nervig erst ans Ende einer Satzkonstruktion setzt, wird im slawischen Sound des Satzbaus holprig nach vorne gescheucht. Und die gesuchten Reimworte werden dabei ungeniert ans Ende der Zeile geprügelt. Rosenkranz dichtete ohne Rücksicht auf die neue Ästhetik einer zeitgenössischen Poesie, wie

¹⁶⁵ www.geocities.com/Area51/Shadowlands/7860/mrosen.html#I [Accessed 15 May 2008].

wir sie von Meister Brecht ablernten. So was strebte Brecht im Gedicht an: die Eleganz gediegener Prosa. Sie darf seit dem 20. Jahrhundert in Deutschland beim Verseschmieden nicht mehr verletzt werden. Aber der lebendige Kontakt zur westeuropäischen Moderne war in der Bukowina gering. Überheftig muss wohl der Drang der Juden in Czernowitz gewesen sein, ihre eigene Sprache zu konservieren. Sie verteidigten stolz und starr, wie Rosenkranz es formulierte: "... das deutsche Wachsein, die deutsche Seele..." Schiller und Goethe, in goldgeprägtem Ledereinband gebündelt, wummerten diesen Menschen unter der Haut neben dem Schlag des nibelungentreuen Herzens.¹⁶⁶

The reduced influence of poetry from the West and the isolation of the Bukovina's German led to a strong sense of local identity which was reflected in Rosenkranz's word order, choice of topics, and type of vocabulary.

The suffering that Rosenkranz endured in the years of persecution did not seem to change the way in which he used words. There is no clear 'before and after' in his verse. In *Im Untergang* Rosenkranz uses the rhyming quatrain for eighty of his poems and only changes form for ten of them, which are not of a later date however. The usual *abab* rhyme scheme gives a child-like simplicity to the pattern. In the *Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997* the poems are not dated and here too only two of the 116 poems do not make use of rhyme, the others almost all following the same four lined pattern with *abab* rhyme scheme as in the *Untergang* collection. In *Visionen* all the poems are rhymed. His verse remains simple, if not simplistic, his most successful poems being the ballads where there is a gentle and unforced quality to his writing. He seldom chose literary words, preferring to retain the local colouring of Bukovina German, influenced as it was by the surrounding languages. His syntax however is often ambiguous, allowing several meanings.

Rosenkranz's use of rhyme recalls a use of German which for him would be associated with Mörike, Goethe, Rilke, and Hofmannsthal. Insisting on it during a time when all forms of civilised thinking seemed to have been thrown overboard was a way of showing his adherence to earlier forms of culture. Yet although rhyme serves as a means of ordering ideas, in poetry it should also be their result, their seemingly effortless by-product. 'Der Reim muß geboren sein, er entspringt den Gedankenschoß; er ist ein Geschöpf, aber er ist kein Instrument, bestimmt, einen Klang hervorzubringen, der dem Hörer etwas Gefühltes oder Gemeintes einprägsam mache'.¹⁶⁷ The technique of rhyme must have the quality of seeming spontaneous, whilst remaining the container for homophonic syllables. According to Kraus it should be the

¹⁶⁶ Wolf Biermann, 'Harter Brocken, Weicher Stein', *Die Welt*, 23 March, 2002, p. 7.

¹⁶⁷ Karl Kraus, 'Der Reim' in *Die Sprache*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987), ed. by Christian Wagenknecht, p. 324.

‘Übereinstimmung von Zwang und Klang’.¹⁶⁸ It is questionable whether Rosenkranz achieves this or whether his thoughts seem rather to be reined in by the simple sounds and thus reduce the impact of the words.

Yet during and after the Holocaust Celan and many other authors lost their faith in the power of words, doubting their ability to convey the horror of what they had suffered. The Nobel Laureate Imre Kertész speaks of a pre and a post-Auschwitz language. For the latter he uses the parallels to music to explain his own choice:

Was für eine Sprache ist das? Ich habe sie, zu meinem eigenen Gebrauch, mit einem Fachwort aus der Musik als atonale Sprache bezeichnet. Sehen wir nämlich die Tonalität, die einheitliche Tonart, als eine allgemein anerkannte Konvention an, dann deklariert Atonalität die Ungültigkeit von Übereinkunft, von Tradition.¹⁶⁹

For him the break that the Holocaust represented made it impossible to return to a way of using words as one had done previously.

Celan’s question in the Meridian speech about the future of art resonates throughout poetic writing after the Holocaust:

Gibt es nicht bei Georg Büchner, bei dem Dichter der Kreatur, eine vielleicht nur halblaute, vielleicht nur halbbewußte, aber darum nicht minder radikale – oder gerade deshalb im eigentlichsten Sinne radikalen In-Frage-Stellung der Kunst?¹⁷⁰

Celan continues by asking if this questioning of art is not necessary in order to be able to progress further in the artistic quest. In this matter he and Adorno seem to have crossed paths. John Zilcosky highlights the way in which Celan and Adorno had a similar perception of what art needed: ‘A truly critical art must therefore have a revolutionary structure, must unsettle the grammar of authority. By insisting on this politics of form, Adorno’s aesthetic theory – already in 1944, five years before his notorious Auschwitz statement – is akin to Celan’s poetry’.¹⁷¹ For Celan the question of how to use German at all pervaded his writing. Likewise, Améry thought it impossible to return to former tones. As the decision to use language to rebuild an edifice of belonging results from the decision to order life’s contradictions into a pattern, the styles arising from this process vary a great deal. The harshness of the enterprise

¹⁶⁸ *ibid*, p. 357.

¹⁶⁹ Imre Kertész, *Die exilierte Sprache, Essays und Reden*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), p. 212.

¹⁷⁰ Paul Celan, ‘Meridian’, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol.3, (Frankfurt: suhrkamp, 2000), p. 192-193.

¹⁷¹ John Zilcosky, ‘Poetry after Auschwitz? Celan and Adorno Revisited’, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 79 (2005), p. 672.

is seen in Celan's and Améry's works. Primo Levi was an author who chose to relate the events as clearly as he could, and his comments on Paul Celan's poems exemplify some of the contradicting views on how best to describe suffering.

In an essay entitled 'Obscure Writing' Levi found that the darkness in Celan's writing 'attracts us as chasms attract us, but at the same time it also defrauds us of something that should have been said and was not, and so it frustrates and turns us away'.¹⁷² Levi thought that poems leave impressions which do not necessarily relate to anything specific and it is this which makes readers feel inadequate because they feel that they have missed something. Yet it is the form itself which has changed, which no longer corresponds to our understanding of what a poem represents. Levi levels his criticism at the difficulty the writer imposes on the reader, saying that the latter deserves to understand that which he or she endeavours to read. This emphasises an important facet of the debate about order in writing, because the reader is brought in as a partner of the process of creating literature. 'If he [the reader] did not understand me, he would feel unjustly humiliated, and I would be guilty of a breach of contract'.¹⁷³

This double perspective for judging a piece of literature is necessary for the evaluation of any piece of art and particularly relevant in times when the individual need for expression as a form of therapy seems to have superseded in importance the consideration of what the viewer, listener or reader gains from the work. What disturbed Levi in Celan's writing was precisely the lack of clarity. He criticises Celan's lack of an objective wordscape.

Nor is it true that one can express only through verbal obscurity that other obscurity of which we are the children, and which lies in our depths. It is not true that disorder is necessary to depict disorder; it is not true that the chaos of the written page is the best symbol of the ultimate chaos to which we are fated: to believe this is a typical vice of our uncertain century. [...] Sometimes one writes (or speaks) not to communicate but to give vent to tension, or joy, or pain, and then one also cries in the desert, moans, laughs, sings and howls.[...] But then the howl is an extreme recourse, good for the individual as tears, inert and uncouth if understood as a language, because that by definition it is not: the inarticulate is not articulate, noise is not sound.¹⁷⁴

Celan's verse neither 'howls' nor is it 'inarticulate', but Levi was driving home the point of his own need to be clear about poetry's topic matter. Levi stresses the intimate role of this

¹⁷² (Levi Primo) 'Obscure Writing' in *Other People's Trades*, translated from the Italian by Raymond Rosenthal, (London: Abacus, 1989), p. 161.

¹⁷³ Levi, p. 159.

¹⁷⁴ Levi, p. 160.

way of venting tension as a purely personal psychological procedure. What he does not consider is the way that this recourse can find resonance among the readers who cannot find any way of doing precisely that. He remains adamant that using disorder to depict disorder does not result in art. Many find Celan's poetry intriguing for precisely the reasons that Levi deplores.

Améry also felt the need for a completely new way of writing. He was exasperated by literary conventions and particularly short with the Romanticism of earlier writers and their idyllic versions of lost homes: 'hatte und habe ich auch Heimweh, ein übles, zehrendes Weh, das gar keinen volksliedhaft-traulichen, ja überhaupt keinen durch Gefühlskonventionen geheiligten Charakter hat und von dem man nicht sprechen kann im Eichendorff-Tonfall'.¹⁷⁵ This much-quoted comment marks a new tone for the descriptions of *Heimat*: the complete rejection of sentimentality in favour of a raw rendition of the suffering. The uncertainty about what tone to use was the result of being dispossessed of the identity the authors had had before the Holocaust. One way of describing the mixed feelings about lost homes was to spell out the conflicting nature of the emotions. Homesickness of the sort Améry describes is not in limbo between the ache of the loss in the present and the vague hope of regaining home at some future time. For him, as for the Bukovina poets, there was no new home and no old one to return to; it was not the homesickness of sentimental songs, nor would 'nostalgia' have been an adequate description. Instead the thought of what had been lost is mixed with anger at the injustice of not being able to restore anything of that which had given meaning. *Heimat* became a bitter word, a mere source of 'ressentiments'.

Some authors chose to give the clearest description possible of the events they had endured so that the reader could comprehend what had occurred. Others reflected on the very chaos and absurdity of a situation by reproducing the experience of disorientation for the reader. The most basic choice was whether to give factual information about the event, or to plunge the reader into the emotional essence of its content. This has also been the case in the discussions on the architectural monuments dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust, whether to recreate a sensation of terror for the visitors, thus in a minimal way allowing them to enter into the absurdity of the experience, as in Peter Eisenman's Holocaust memorial in Berlin, where the stone slabs seem to undulate and each piece is of a different size and shape, creating a feeling of groundlessness and instability for the visitor, or whether to have more traditional forms of representation, such as the listed information of what occurred at a particular place and time.

¹⁷⁵ Jean Améry, *Jenseits von Schuld und Sühne*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), p. 76.

The question of order when rebuilding is directly in proportion to that of the disorder experienced. The degree of the communicability of suffering is one which touches the question of what kind of order is being rebuilt. Hannah Arendt saw suffering as the experience which isolates us from each other, thus affecting our inner and outer forms of belonging and consequently the way of expressing these in writing.

Indeed the most intense feeling we know of, intense to the point of blotting out all other experiences, namely, the experience of great bodily pain, is at the same time the most private and least communicable of all. Not only is it perhaps the only experience which we are unable to transform into a shape fit for public appearance, it actually deprives us of our feeling for reality to such an extent that we can forget it more quickly and easily than anything else. There seems to be no bridge from the most radical subjectivity, in which I am no longer 'recognizable' to the outer world of life. Pain, in other words, truly a borderline experience between life as 'being among men' (*inter homines esse*) and death, is so subjective and removed from the world of things and men that it cannot assume an appearance at all.¹⁷⁶

The way authors come to terms with pain either alienates them from their readers or brings them closer to them. Not only in writing about the pain one has suffered, but also in daily interaction with others, the place one gives to one's own suffering indicates the way in which one chooses or excludes community. The need to be understood may be overstretched when it entails the wish to share the knowledge of the suffering endured. In Rosenkranz there is almost a kind of indifference to that which wounded him the most. In Celan there is a continual struggle to bend the words to try to force them to render the inexpressible.

Arendt's observations and Levi's essay on 'Obscure Writing' have precisely this in common that they look at the relationship between the individual's inner chaos and its context. Arendt's focus is on the relationship between personal pain and its expression, Levi's on the relationship between the writer, the words on the page and the reader. Arendt's analysis can be used for literary purposes to see how this interaction between the writer and the community of readers does or does not create a new kind of home. 'No human life, not even the life of the hermit in nature's wilderness, is possible without a world which directly or indirectly testifies to the presence of other human beings'.¹⁷⁷ The interaction nevertheless requires some common form of communication which some poets had lost. Thomas Laqueur sees this as the main difference between Levi and other writers about the Holocaust:

¹⁷⁶ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 50-51.

¹⁷⁷ Hannah Arendt, p. 22.

While the other powerful voices that speak for Auschwitz – Wiesel is paradigmatic – lost their worlds and their languages, Levi did not. He didn't feel the enormous emptiness that they had to fill with metaphysical longing, religion or the Postmodern breakdown in communicability. He was not lost either culturally or socially; he remained the consummate, educated, cosmopolitan European bourgeois, a child of the Enlightenment; his local roots were unshakable.¹⁷⁸

Most of the Bukovina poets opted for a simpler way of describing the events they had endured, one in which they were able to restore order by the act of writing, even if the language they chose corresponded to that used before the Holocaust. Order can be said to be the first attribute of making a comfortable living space, and thus a necessary part of building a new home in writing. Order is the necessary criterion for beginning to construct a form of meaning. The French philosopher Simone Weil, who worked for the Résistance, saw order as a fundamental necessity. In 1943 she wrote: 'Le premier besoin de l'âme, celui qui est le plus proche de sa destinée éternelle, c'est l'ordre'.¹⁷⁹ This is especially true when the most basic structures of belonging have been removed; the most urgent need then is to rebuild and to recreate a sense of order, of logic, which can be seen in poetry and in philosophy. Both Plato and Aristotle have been called 'the first architects on the great construction site of logic'.¹⁸⁰ The building of logic can thus be seen as a necessary foundation for a home or a text. The longing for order was not merely a form of homesickness, of nostalgia, but also derived from a need to maintain the validity of previous patterns. Rosenkranz, Kittner, or Weißglas shared Levi's faith in the possibility of being able to communicate. Their legacy was not one of artistic novelty, but rather of the potential to use clarity as a means of restoring personal order.

Kittner, like Rosenkranz, deliberately chose the path of clarity when writing about his past. He wanted his language to be simple, without vagueness about what could be interpreted in other ways. His fight was within himself of how to express the most awful images. When he then managed to spell out in words the memory that most troubled him, it seemed like a form of catharsis. This was one way of assembling the fragments of his experience and his choice when faced with the choice between obscurity or clarity: 'Ich spreche verständliche Worte/Worte, jedwedem geläufig,/ Dem Kind selbst.'¹⁸¹ Kittner's poem is a direct address about what can be expressed about the Holocaust. His intention was to be straightforward, to tell the truth as candidly as possible.

¹⁷⁸ Thomas Laqueur, 'Travelling in the Classic Style' in *London Review of Books*, 5 September 2002, p. 15.

¹⁷⁹ Simone Weil, 'L'Enracinement', in *Oeuvres*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 1031.

¹⁸⁰ E. Hoffmann, *Die Sprache und die archaische Logik*, (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925), p. vi.

¹⁸¹ Alfred Kittner, 'Ich spreche verständliche Worte' in *Schattenschrift*, (Aachen: Rimbaud, 1988), lines 1-10, p. 94.

Those who chose clarity as the way to write about their experiences faced the accusations of those readers for whom the style seemed to contradict the content. If Celan's *Todesfuge* was ridiculed by those who first heard it being read aloud, it was because of the deceptive nature of its simplicity and the type of rhetoric used. In spite of their desire for change on a moral and political level, many of the Bukovina poets chose to use a traditional style of writing to express their longing. Preserving familiar styles was one way of rebuilding the world that they had lost. As if to reduce the complexities of the chaos around them, Kittner, Weißglas and Rosenkranz kept forms that belonged to the past. They focused on the memories of a literary form which ordered the realities that they encountered. Many of their contemporaries did the same but for different reasons. The main trend in German poetry during the 1930s and 40s was a return to the Classical-Romantic forms.

Für viele Autoren [...] besaß der Anschluß an eine fortdauernde klassisch-romantische Lyriktradition den Charakter einer glückhaften Rückerinnerung; in der nachahmenden Rekonstruktion einer (als real unterstellten) Einheit von geschichtlicher Situation und moralisch-künstlerischem Anspruch hofften sie die Verunsicherungen durch die erlebte Geschichte überwinden zu können; sie glaubten, daß sich Brücken des Sinns schlagen ließen.¹⁸²

The attempt to unify the historical situation with moral and artistic aspirations was the challenge that faced the writers of the period, and indeed, of any age. It is significant that the 'bridges of meaning' connected to the Classical-Romantic tradition and not to the period immediately before the 1930s, not to Surrealism or Expressionism. The Romantics had created meta-worlds in their poems and prose, in which dreams and psychological visions became more of a setting than the facts of the outside world. Analysing the style of those who wrote about the Holocaust makes it clear that familiarity has a value which may be negative when seen purely in aesthetic terms, but which may have helped those writing retain the little sense of community that was left.

It was not 'inner emigration' or any form of inner escape that caused the Bukovina authors to choose the more traditional forms. It was rather a means of creating lost order. This construction of bridges of meaning by using the old forms in poetry was practised in the Bukovina much earlier than the arrival of National Socialism. In the changing policies of a country that had lost its official ties to the German-speaking world in 1919, the need to return to what was seen as cultural civilisation was felt even more keenly than elsewhere, as was the sense of common identity of the two areas. The memoirs of the youth who grew up in

¹⁸² Uwe K. Ketelsen, 'Klassisch-Romantische Tendenzen in der Lyrik der dreißiger und vierziger Jahren', in *Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik*, ed. by Walter Hinderer, 2nd edn. (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2001), p. 483.

Czernovitz in the 1920s and 30s, recalling what they read, the pieces of music they played, and their interest in the arts generally, testified to the joy and pride of belonging to the literary tradition of Goethe and Rilke. This defence of a traditional use of German reveals a need for the familiar which is very different from the uncertainty Heidegger called for as a necessity for a new way of thinking.

Home in the unknown

Rather than choosing the familiar to stay at home in, Heidegger's suggested method was the exposure to the unknown, to fear, as a means of comprehending the nature of being. In order to understand his *Sprache als Heimat* a short excursion is necessary into his insistence on the need for *Angst*, which has been translated as *fear* or *dread*. In *Sein und Zeit* Heidegger uses several moods or attunements ('Grundstimmungen') to disclose *Dasein*. One of them is fear:

In der Angst ist einem *unheimlich*. Darin kommt zunächst die eigentümliche Unbestimmtheit dessen, wobei sich das Dasein in der Angst befindet, zum Ausdruck: das Nichts und Nirgends. Unheimlichkeit meint aber dabei zugleich das Nicht-zuhause-sein.¹⁸³

According to Heidegger nothingness and 'nowhereness' are revealed in fear: 'Das beruhigt-vertraute In-der-Welt sein ist ein Modus der Unheimlichkeit des Daseins, nicht umgekehrt. Das Un-zuhause muß existenzial-ontologisch als das ursprünglichere Phänomen begriffen werden'.¹⁸⁴

The absence of home as an original state of being means that being itself is originally not at home. This premise sees homelessness not as a loss, but as a condition.

The difference between material homelessness and that which is found in the mind's cliffs is seen at its strongest in this perspective on homelessness. The existentialist claim is that removing security is crucial for a deeper understanding of oneself and one's surroundings. This new beginning should open the door to a ruthlessly honest encounter with oneself and thus to a freer relationship with the outside world. Heidegger saw fear as an important prerequisite for this journey. Fear is the main tenor of *Sein und Zeit*, being used as the 'mood' which helps to expose nothingness to being, thus making it become impossible to settle in this world, or to find comfort in it.

To insist on the discovery of the nothingness of being in the world is to greet homelessness like a welcome guest. The very impossibility of comfort in everyday life is then a logical consequence. These are some of the elements of Heidegger's philosophy which come into conflict with the psychological and physical realities of Rosenkranz and the other authors and which make it difficult to imagine that home was understood in the same way by both sides. The positive traits that unhousedness has for Heidegger clearly contrast with the material

¹⁸³ Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit*, (Tübingen: Max Niemer, 1963, 10th edn.), p. 188.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 189.

reality of his secure home in the Black Forest, which, although it was a *Hütte*, both solid and improvised as a structure, nevertheless provided a form of security which Rosenkranz and other Bukovina authors did not have. It is unlikely that one who had no secure house or home could feel the same way. Yet it is necessary to refer to these thoughts as the premises which allowed *Sprache als Heimat* to develop as a concept.

When fear is necessary for a new beginning the very parameters of freedom are redefined. The return to the naked self that is the aim of this exposure carries no guarantee that the confrontation will be a happy one. The meeting of the self with fear relies on a knowledge or belief that the self is abandoned and alone. If well-being is sought, then it must be sought elsewhere. In Heidegger's view, non-belonging is at the origin of our experience. Final solitude is seen as the necessary knowledge of oneself, more relevant than the modus of a meaningful existence with others. Safranski stresses the way in which Heidegger sees philosophy's task as that of injecting the thinker with fear: 'Die Philosophie habe dem Menschen zuerst einmal einen Schrecken einzujagen und ihn zurückzuzwingen in jene Unbehautheit, aus der er stets aufs neue die Flucht in die Kultur antritt.'¹⁸⁵ The view that philosophy's role is to make one return to one's state of 'houselessness' borders on the assumption of needing a tabula rasa before being able to adopt a creed. This would imply that fear is needed in order to understand comfort.

Lévinas sees fear ('l'angoisse') as that which lets us understand the void, but not that which helps us to grasp what being is: 'L'angoisse, compréhension du néant, n'est compréhension de l'être que dans la mesure où l'être lui-même se détermine par le néant'.¹⁸⁶ Fear of the void is precisely what Lévinas understands as our commitment to Being: 'La peur du néant ne mesure que notre engagement dans l'être. C'est par elle-même, et non pas en vertu de sa finitude, que l'existence recèle un tragique que la mort ne saurait résoudre'.¹⁸⁷

Fear is the exact opposite of what home usually means, unless we think of life in the Samsa home in Kafka's *Metamorphosis*, which indeed makes fear into the main mood of home. Fear was the dominant emotion of those who lived through persecution and was certainly not a necessity for them to be able to think clearly. In the need for *Angst* we find not only an internal contradiction in the definition of *Heimat*, but also the main experience that separated

¹⁸⁵ Rüdiger Safranski, p. 215.

¹⁸⁶ Emmanuel Lévinas, *De L'existence à L'Existant*, p. 20.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 21.

the poets' knowledge of what language meant to them from Heidegger's intellectual construction, of which the practical implications were not quite clear.

In her study of *Heimat* Andrea Bastian quotes Konrad Lorenz about how much insecurity pursues us, even when we are not aware of it. Lorenz had observed that fear threatens our daily existence and that our longing is for the security which can be found in a familiar landscape, a familiar house or the well-known face of a friend.¹⁸⁸ The value of familiarity is seen in the way it constructs a matrix of belonging for the individual. These small factors then contribute to a larger structure of relationships which can provide enough security to fulfil that longing.

Heidegger's discovery of *Angst* as the starting point for philosophical experience, which Kierkegaard had stipulated before him, was perhaps the same kind of insight as Francisco Goya's decision to return to the bull fights as a cure for his depression. This *Unbehaustheit* is meant to be the beginning of the philosophy adventure, implying that one can think clearly only when completely unprotected. When testing philosophical tenets against everyday life, one could claim that anyone who had experienced evacuation or deportation would not need to have attended a Heidegger lecture in order to know about the power of fear, however useful it may otherwise be in revealing creative potential. Fear of particular things is replaced by a general fear, and homelessness, instead of being given a remedy, becomes ontological. Although it is not necessarily philosophy's task to provide a remedy for fear, it is not its prerogative to call it an imperative either. Améry draws attention to the similarity between Heidegger's personal requirements for fear and the general fear of the time:

Das Tragische des Heideggerschen Denkens oder meinetwegen: das Götterdämmerungshafte, Wagnerianische, das dem Menschen zum Sein gerade nur den Weg durch die *Angst* freigibt, wobei der Weg zum Sein dann allerdings ins Nichts mündet—es verband sich mit einer deutschen Epochenstimmung, in der man die konkreten Ängste, die ökonomische Existenzsorge, verzweifelt ins Philosophische zu sublimieren bemühte.¹⁸⁹

Améry's comment that fear was part of a German mood of the times marks the overlapping area between Heidegger's personal rhetoric and that of his whole generation. The details, the 'konkrete Ängste' are not interesting for him. Yet in the case of authors from the Bukovina writing was precisely a matter of survival tactics in everyday life. Améry's own failure to take events seriously until it was too late made him sensitive to this gap between the political

¹⁸⁸ Konrad Lorenz, *Die Rückseite des Spiegels. Der Abbau des Menschlichen*, (Munich, Zurich 1988), p. 263 in Andrea Bastian, *Der Heimat-Begriff*, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 159, 1995), p. 34.

¹⁸⁹ Jean Améry, 'Sie blieben in Deutschland – Martin Heidegger', radio lecture given in 1968, *Zwischenwelt*, (Nr. 3 December 2003), p. 52.

realities and the intellectual ideas. The most extreme knowledge of the unknown, as experienced in torture or imminent death makes it impossible to accommodate a *Weltanschauung* that calls *Angst* the basis of experience. If values such as stability are secondary, so is one's own existence. That is why Améry insisted that loss be taken seriously and literally without the paraphernalia of abstract thinking.

Themes such as the relationship between people, or the comfort that friendship could provide were never a theme in Heidegger's analysis of existence. 'In the everydayness of Dasein that Heidegger, quite often, brilliantly describes, he does not mention some very important human experiences, such as love or friendship'.¹⁹⁰ These aspects, which are so deeply rooted in what is normally understood by *Heimat*, are absent in Heidegger's texts. These experiences are not part of the body of his works and yet when trying to understand the relevance of writing for fitting into a particular environment they must be part of the terrain explored.

This prerequisite of coming face to face with one's existence marks an essential difference between Heidegger's *Sprache als Heimat* and that which is usually understood by the phrase. The insistence on fear suggests a fundamental difference between a Heideggerian *Sprache als Heimat* and a Bukovina understanding of it. Rosenkranz's own knowledge of fear was explicit:

Angst

Angst hat azurene Himmel verhangen,
Angst hat der Freiheit Grenzen gesteckt.
Angst hat die Liebe vergiftet mit Bangen.
Angst hat den Wert der Lähmung entdeckt.

Angst heißt ein Herr über unsere Länder,
ihm dienen Millionen gerüsteter Macht.
Wir küssen den Saum seiner schwarzen Gewänder
zaghaft, lächelnd, unbedacht.¹⁹¹

The repetition of the word 'Angst' marks its omnipresence and its invasion into all parts of life.

The second line of the poem makes the philosophical observation that fear limits freedom instead of encouraging it. Fear is seen here as having the ability to pervade every personal and social relationship. It is a specific agent which affects the personal, the political and the religious entities of the country. In the first stanza fear is seen as a general factor of change,

¹⁹⁰ Haim Gordon, *The Heidegger-Buber Controversy: The Status of the I-Thou*, (Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 7.

¹⁹¹ Moses Rosenkranz, *Visionen*, p. 87.

which then turns into a particular person in the second. The abstract nouns of 'Freiheit' and 'Liebe' are set in contrast to the very personal, emotional reactions to the fear: the 'Bangen' and the naivety with which people followed the leading power of whom they were afraid, as seen in the last line. For Rosenkranz the community he shared his plight with and their common fate represented a major reason for writing. An early example of this is when he expresses the joy of the solidarity he felt with other Jews at a reading of his volume *Die Tafeln* in 1940, where he sees that his listeners were riveted by his poems. In a letter to Anna he expressed his relief at the fact that his poems had been well received and his sense of fulfilment at having been able to offer some comfort to his audience: 'Sie sind mir gelungen und erfüllen, wozu ich sie schrieb, wenn sie – in diesen Tagen selbst Juden, die vor allen unglückliche zu sein berechtigt sind, Stunden des Glückes bereiten können'.¹⁹² This rare instance of the success of his poetry during his lifetime marks a deep longing to be able to provide some form of consolation to those around him in the midst of political trouble.

If Heidegger sees fear as a prerequisite for coming to terms with one's existence, one needs to look at Heidegger's understanding of language itself to see what *Sprache als Heimat* could mean. *Unterwegs zur Sprache* can be seen as the summary of Heidegger's thoughts on language.¹⁹³ These essays present the philosopher's conception of language as reflected in the way in which he discusses the spoken word and poetry.

The challenge of stating what Heidegger meant by language is that he himself avoided a definition that could be used for any occasion: 'Wir wollen das Wesen der Sprache nicht auf einen Begriff bringen, damit dieser eine überall nutzbare Ansicht über die Sprache liefere, die alles Vorstellen beruhigt'.¹⁹⁴ His method of observing language was to let it speak. His description of this process was like embarking on an adventure:

Die Sprache ist: Sprache. Die Sprache spricht. Wenn wir uns in den Abgrund, den dieser Satz nennt, fallen lassen, stürzen wir nicht ins Leere weg. Wir fallen in die Höhe. Deren Hoheit öffnet eine Tiefe. Beide durchmessen eine Ortschaft, in der wir heimisch werden möchten, um den Aufenthalt für das Wesen des Menschen zu finden.¹⁹⁵

The logical progression of thought from the question of the nature of language to that of the location of a person's essence passes through the word 'heimisch', where one has a sense of being at home. Yet this being at home comes as a placeless space, one which has no location.

¹⁹² Moses Rosenkranz Collection, Reel 1, frame 320, dated 10. 2. 1940, AR 25087; box 1; folder 8; Leo Baeck Institute New York.

¹⁹³ Martin Heidegger, *Unterwegs Zur Sprache*, (Stuttgart: Günther Neske, 12th edn., 2001).

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

Heidegger then enumerates the most common perceptions of the word language: as a means of expression, a human activity, and as the imagining and representation of what is real and unreal.¹⁹⁶ After addressing the biblical rendering of Saint John's Prologue of the Word being with God, Heidegger argues that all these versions of language never arrive at the nature of language itself. 'So geleiten sie denn trotz ihrer Verständlichkeit niemals zur Sprache als Sprache'.¹⁹⁷ From here on the focus is on language as found in the spoken word, which is to act as the place where language speaks. Looking for the purity of the spoken word, the answer he offers his 'Rein Gepochenes ist das Gedicht'.¹⁹⁸ Heidegger then uses the poem, in this case 'Ein Winterabend' by Georg Trakl, in order to question to what extent it is the person who is speaking: 'Inwiefern spricht der Mensch?'.¹⁹⁹ His reply:

Im Nennen sind die genannten Dinge in ihr Dingen gerufen. Dingend entfalten sie Welt, in der die Dinge weilen und so je die weiligen sind. Die Dinge tragen, indem sie dingen, daher die Wörter "gebären" und "Gebärde". Dingend sind die Dinge Dinge. Dingend gebären sie Welt.

This way of turning around the tables of ordinary logic brings about the reversal of the origin of language. Already the difficulties of assigning his understanding of language to the experience of poets, and in particular Rosenkranz, become apparent. The subject has become the thing itself and the issue of the speaker has moved into the background. The nature of the person speaking, the *Sein* of the speaker is not the main focus.

In the same essay, 'Die Sprache' and twenty three years after *Sein und Zeit* Heidegger wrote: 'Im Tod versammelt sich die höchste Verborgenheit des Seins. Der Tod hat jedes Sterben schon überholt'.²⁰⁰

In *Sein und Zeit* Heidegger had already asked: 'Hat das In-der-Welt-sein eine höhere Instanz als seinen Tod?'.²⁰¹ His own answer is that there is no higher instance for *Dasein* than death itself. This 'in-der-Welt-sein' could be seen as the larger frame for *Heimat* and if being comes into its own in death then the type of existence built during a lifetime is not a pressing concern. The nihilistic character of Heidegger's philosophy accompanies his political stance from the publication of *Sein und Zeit* in 1927 to his university lecture of 12 November 1933

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 23.

²⁰¹ *Sein und Zeit*, p. 313, quoted in Hans Ebeling, 'Das Ereignis des Führers, Heideggers Antwort', in *Martin Heidegger: Innen- und Außen- Ansichten*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989), ed. by the Forum für Philosophie Bad Homburg, p. 36.

on the eve of the Reichtags vote. If death is the highest instance over *Dasein* there is no need for either morality or ethics as formed by the interaction with others. The attack levelled at Heidegger's understanding of being and death by Ebeling, Safranski, Pöggler and Adorno, as will be seen in the course of the study, is that Heidegger does not allow for any external correctives that could modify either the actions or political stances derived from his construction of language, being and death. 'Wer nun „den“ Tod mit Heidegger als die höchste Instanz seines Seinkönnens annimmt, hat sich von aller praktischen Vernunft befreit, nämlich aller vernünftig-willentlichen Regulierung des Faktischen, die noch andere Parameter kennt als das Faktische selbst, nämlich Handlungsnormierung'.²⁰²

Ebeling even sees *Sein und Zeit* as a work which brings down all the moral imperatives attached to *Dasein* that had been developed in the West: 'Es [Sein und Zeit] ist aber ein Werk, das die abendländische Moralität und Sittlichkeit nicht nur methodisch in die Klammer setzt, sondern von seinem Ansatz her bereits in der Sache zerstört'.²⁰³

This basis for the exploration of language and *Heimat* clearly contrasts with the more common views of the concepts, where belonging is conceived of as a positive form of interaction with others within a community. This is severely affected by the experience of trauma. Two major aspects of loss will be examined in the following chapters. The first is the relationship between time and the subject after the experience of the unchosen knowledge of the unknown, as is the case of trauma. The second is the way words create silence or leave empty spaces in poems, resulting in the loss of the subject itself.

²⁰² Hans Ebeling, p. 36.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 37.

Time and the subject

In his letters, Moses Rosenkranz does not refer directly to any torture or to the types of trauma he suffered, although throughout his poems there are references to his predicaments. After his liberation Rosenkranz did not write stories about his trials, as many Holocaust survivors have done. To him the inner landscapes and miniatures of particular emotions were the way he chose to refer to the past. In the New York Leo Baeck collection there are merely a number of newspaper clippings with the reports of other internees of Soviet labour camps, which had served as testimonies for Anna and others attempting to have Rosenkranz released.

By looking at some of the ways in which loss affected identity in the Holocaust and during the Stalinist regime it becomes easier to analyse some of the effects of this loss on the poetic texts from the Bukovina. The research that has been carried out on the effects of trauma helps one to differentiate some of the layers in Rosenkranz's relationship to language, as well as the sense of loss of language as felt by Celan and other writers.

Trauma can often result in the lack of a stable sense of self. In her research on post-war literary works in German cities Susanne Vees-Gulani has chosen a formulation which emphasises trauma's severity and its personal nature:

The traumatic event has to be of considerable severity posing a threat to one's life or that of others, involve actual death or serious injury or threaten one's physical integrity or that of others. It can be either experienced or witnessed by the individual.²⁰⁴

This specification of the personal character of trauma is in order to avoid falling into the general identification of trauma with its aftermaths as experienced by whole societies. Vees-Gulani remarks that trauma as a concept has been much used in recent years to define whole cultures and periods of time, especially in the writing of Cathy Caruth, where problems surface when individual suffering is transposed to relate to a society's unease:

While it is true that the twentieth century has been particularly marked by mass violence, especially because of the availability of new technologies, it clearly trivializes the experience and the often tremendous personal suffering of individuals, who actually went through a trauma, to see us all as traumatized simply because we live during post-World Wars, post-Holocaust, post-Hiroshima times.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Susanne Vees-Gulani, *Trauma and Guilt, Literature of Wartime Bombing in Germany*, (New York, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003), p. 26.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

This generalisation of trauma as a societal effect naturally affects the way in which the individual victim is seen once again as merely a part of a 'traumatized society'. As seen by Vees-Gulani, trauma is a personal experience of a life-threatening or brutal event which can leave psychological and neurological disorders in the life of the one affected by it. The clinical categories of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder and Acute Stress Disorder, introduced in 1980 and 1994 respectively, are also useful categories for the diagnosis of trauma, although not all sufferers show these symptoms.

One of the unsettling results of traumatic loss on the writer can be a new sense of time. 'Time' is chosen here as a defining category of the relationship of the subject to his or her environment. The effects of events on the writer's life and the way in which these are remembered shape the texture of the text, rendering the relationship between past and present an indicator of the kind of aesthetic replacement that poetry provides. Balancing personal perception of time with the way it is experienced in one's surroundings is a crucial part of the structure of the new poetic belonging. Poems from the Bukovina show that personal chronology is often shaken and images of the past haunt the present so strongly that the merging of both phases leads to a sense of estrangement, as will be seen in 'Der Gemiedene' by Rosenkranz.

The personal confusion of a new sense of time after the experience of loss leads to a new appraisal of what time means in one's relationship to oneself and others. This change affects the modalities of belonging. Within the experience of a person who has suffered trauma there is often a revocation of the subject's healthy relationship to the self and to time, even if this cannot be measured objectively. This aspect of time has been discussed in works on Holocaust writing, such as Rose Yalow Kamel's assessment of Charlotte Delbo's sense of time.

In 're-membling' the atrocities inflicted on her body and those of her comrades in the Nazi concentration camps, the French memoirist Charlotte Delbo avoids the linear time scheme and the metaphors for self that have traditionally defined autobiography as a genre. Instead, her depiction of time is circular, and the depiction of self and other is that of dismembered bodies and fragmented psyches.²⁰⁶

The disjointed nature of time in her writing is one instance of the difficulty of tracing the precise nature of events in the text. Psychological time, in terms of the narrative rendering of experience, forms the structure of a text. As Ricoeur remarks in *Time and the Narrative*, 'The

²⁰⁶ Rose Yalow Kamel, 'Written on the Body: Narrative Re-Presentation in Charlotte Delbo's *Auschwitz and After*', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 2000, 14(1), p. 65.

world unfolded by every narrative work is always a temporal world. [...] time becomes human time to the extent that it is organized after the manner of a narrative; narrative, in turn, is meaningful to the extent that it portrays the features of temporal experience'.²⁰⁷ This is the difficulty of time in Rosenkranz's biography, which depends on the poems, the fragments of his autobiography, and the correspondence at the New York Leo Baeck Institute. In his verse the impressions are scattered and thus his chronological witness remains splintered. Rosenkranz's choice not to date his poems arose from his sense of calendar time not being as relevant as the time he experienced in his verse. This resulted in a diffused account of the outer occurrences in his life. This is also the case in biographies of other survivors of Stalinist or Nazi camps also, as Friedhelm Boll comments: 'Der Verlust des Zeitempfindens für die GPU-Haft [Sowjetische Geheimpolizei] und die Unfähigkeit, eine geschlossene Erzählung für diese Zeit zu gestalten, markieren dieses Erinnerungsmuster'.²⁰⁸

La Capra addresses the problematic nature of time in the representation of the Holocaust by showing that there is a hurdle to be overcome when reliving the traumatic scene, whether it be from the Holocaust or the Soviet labour camps:

Any duality (or double inscription) of time (past and present or future) is experientially collapsed or productive only of aporias and double binds. In this sense, the aporia and the double bind might be seen as marking a trauma that has not been worked through. Working through is an articulatory practice: to the extent one works through trauma (as well as transference relations in general), one is able to distinguish between past and present and to recall in memory that something happened to one (or one's people) back then while realizing that one is living here and now with openings to the future. This does not imply either that there is a pure opposition between past and present or that acting out – whether for the traumatized or for those empathetically relating to them—can be fully transcended toward a state of closure or full identity.²⁰⁹

This difficulty in settling the tension between past and present is therefore not necessarily one which can be resolved, nor is articulating the events of the past always therapeutic. The disrupted narrative of Holocaust or Gulag survivors should be accepted as a literary and moral choice, despite the widely held belief that survivors have a moral duty to speak so that others can improve their understanding of history from their experience. The danger of speaking is what Ulrich Baer calls the 'Risk of Disclosure': 'The survivor's apparent difficulties of speaking about the event are directly linked to the implicit fear that there is no addressee for

²⁰⁷ Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, translated by Kathleen MacLaughlin and David Pellauer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 3.

²⁰⁸ Friedhelm Boll, *Sprechen als Last und Befreiung, Holocaust-Überlebende und politisch Verfolgte zweier Diktaturen*, (Bonn: Dietz, 2001), p. 421.

²⁰⁹ Dominick La Capra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, p. 21-22.

their stories, and that language itself has lost the capacity to establish a human bond prior and beyond the interviewer's openly avowed commitment or obligation to listen'.²¹⁰ This doubt about the human bond is precisely what pervades the writings of Celan, Rosenkranz and Heidegger alike. The question of the 'thou' within the poems will be addressed in the third section of this study.

Rosenkranz, despite the amount of verse and of letters he wrote to Anna, is nevertheless positioned between the 'Redenmüssen und Schweigendürfen' of writers who survived the Holocaust.²¹¹ The quantity of his works illustrates his compulsion to write, whereas his avoidance of direct reference to the brutality he endured is a sign of his choice to remain silent about the particularities of his own suffering.

In the following poem, 'Der Gemiedene', Rosenkranz shows how the lost sense of personal time leads to confusion about the border-line between self and others. Inflicted loss caused mixed feelings about home and made the poet vulnerable to the present in such a way that it forced doubt into the very nature of his identity.

Wenn ich durch Straßen gehe
forsche ich in jedem Angesicht
ob ich etwa mich erspähe
denn in mir da bin ich nicht.

Ausgeflogen und entschwunden
Bin ich mir, weiß nicht wohin;
Was zurückblieb sind die Wunden
Und die Toten die nicht fliehn.

Ob die Leute das erblicken
denn sie weichen hastig aus:
Ich mag noch so freundlich nicken
bleibe doch ein Totenhaus.

In this poem one finds an account of the inversion that loss causes, ending in the loss of a reliable sense of self: 'denn in mir da bin ich nicht'.²¹² Written in 1958, the poem clearly expresses the difficulties Rosenkranz had as one returning from the Gulags and who had a story which friends and readers in Germany at the time did not want to hear. The lyrical subject's identity is turned inside-out so that he understands himself as what he had been in the past, whilst no longer being able to relate to the outside world in the present. The 'now' no

²¹⁰ Ulrich Baer, *Remnants of Song, Trauma and the Experience of Modernity in Charles Baudelaire and Paul Celan*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 201.

²¹¹ Friedhelm Boll, p. 36.

²¹² Rosenkranz, 'Der Gemiedene' in: *Bukowina Gedichte*, p. 119.

longer provides a reliable frame for the communication between the 'I' and the other because those who are dead seem much more present than those still alive. This inversion shows how the very centre of the person's being is affected by loss, there remaining only the absence of what had been instead of the presence of what is. The dead seem to be the ones who represent what the survivor still is and the reality facing the poet is incomprehensible, there is nothing left that he can recognize. In the first stanza the subject goes through the streets and looks for himself in the faces of those he sees. The word 'erspähen' indicates the investigative nature of the subject's attempt to find himself again. Two facts are established: the subject encounters others and cannot find himself within himself, nor in the faces of the others. 'Ich' is referred to three times in the first four lines, only to reappear just once in the next stanza. The cleft between the recognizable self and that which is left is illustrated in the image of a bird that has flown away. 'Entschwinden' suggests not only vanishing but also forgetting. There is a deliberate overlap between disappearance and forgetting, indicating that the subject is unsettled in his relationship to the present and the past, which is inferred by the relationship to space: 'ausgeflogen und entschwinden [...] weiß nicht wohin'. What remains is the negative reality of suffering: the wounds and those who have died. The dead are seen as taking on a more solid existence in the life of the survivor than the unintelligible nature of the present. The perplexing nature of the interaction between self and others is again propounded in the final strophe of the poem, where it is not clear who sees the 'Ich' as the 'Totenhaus'. Is the lyrical subject's own view of himself merely reflected in those he meets or is it the intentional avoidance of former acquaintances? When the 'ich' is reduced to a 'Totenhaus' the former self no longer seems to be present. In the last stanza the perspective of the one speaking merges with that of how others see him. The friction this produces is felt both by the outside world and the self. There is an absence of self within his own presence which he cannot bring into accord with his environment.

This disjunction between past and present as expressed in verse thus becomes an 'articulatory practice' in which the various parts of the self slowly entwine to form a new reality. Here the poetic composition of homecoming reworks the doubts and the effects of memory into a witness in verse which allows the one who has returned to position himself, albeit as an outsider, within the community of the living.

'Der Gemiedene' exemplifies this very moment when the new reality of having been liberated after ten years of Gulag and returning to Romania, could not easily be absorbed into the former 'meaning-structures' of before the war began. In his work on recovery from trauma Tim Dalgleish has identified a 'cognitive theory' which helps to reconstruct a form of order after the experience of trauma.

According to cognitive theories, an individual has a set of pre-existing beliefs and models of the world, of others, and of themselves, which are products of prior experiences. When one encounters new experiences, non-salient information is usually ignored, while that compatible with one's meaning-structures is easily absorbed. However, when a traumatic event occurs, an individual is suddenly faced with a very prominent experience, but one which is incompatible with the person's established beliefs and models. Consequently, the information cannot be neglected and yet it cannot easily be added either.²¹³

The 'I' in the poem sees the others as the ones who do not want to acknowledge his presence. In his correspondence and autobiography it is clear that Rosenkranz refused to let loss affect his faith in his own dignity and this meant that he could trust the activity of writing as a way of externalizing that confidence in words despite his anxiety about the state of his country and of his family.

Zu Hause und mit Andsja war ich indes immer still und versonnen und vor dem Einschlafen sogar so ängstlich bekümmert um das Schicksal meiner Familie und des Vaterlandes, die beide zerrissen standen, daß mir die klügsten Gebete nicht halfen und ich mich erst beruhigte, wenn mir der Ausdruck meiner Sorgen in Versen gelang.²¹⁴

In 'Der Gemiedene' self-reflection is expressed in the triple relationship to the self seen in the nominative, accusative and dative: 'ich', 'mich' and 'mir'. The subject searches the object and does not find it within itself. There is no individual being addressed, no 'du'. The writer's relationship to the new situation after loss is thus troubled by distorted reactions to the present. The present no longer seems as relevant as the past, and although this can be said about all sorts of loss the emphasis here is on the way writing helped to overcome or at least to transform the negativity of loss into something positive. The separation between what the lyrical subject feels to be himself and what is apparent to others causes the sensation that the present is strange and unreal, an environment in which he neither belongs nor is able to belong. He is a 'Totenhaus', a house of the dead. It is not that things or people are missing, it is that those same absent things and people become more present than they had ever been. What had given a reason and purpose to life, a home and a reason for communicating is lost, so that there is only the awareness of that loss left, nothing else being interesting or relevant.

Mandelstam, who like Rosenkranz, was also homeless for years, also persecuted and whose poetry had a great influence on Celan, realized that poverty had not only robbed him of a right

²¹³ Susanne Vees-Gulani, *Trauma and Guilt, Literature of Wartime Bombing in Germany*, (New York, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003), p. 30.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

to possess territory, it had also deprived him of a stable relationship to unstable times. In 1931, in a letter to his father, he wrote:

Wer nicht im Einklang mit seiner Zeit lebt, wer sich vor ihr versteckt, wird auch den Menschen nichts mehr geben können und keinen Frieden mit sich selber finden. Das Alte gibt es nicht mehr, und Du hast das so spät und so gut begriffen. Ein Gestern gibt es nicht mehr, es gibt nur das Uralte und die Zukunft.²¹⁵

This inability to relate to the present was extremely significant as a reason for writing poetry for Mandelstam and Rosenkranz. There are many parallels between the two poets, the main one being their lack of stable homes and the way poetry came to fill in that absence of security. Mandelstam's observations apply to the Bukovina poets as well. The struggle to find a meaningful relationship to the present is a challenge to which writers in exile are particularly exposed. Memories do not give back what is gone, the present is too painful and yet there is the need to look forward. Thus the victim is left without a meaningful relationship to the present. What remains is the nightmare of the past and the fear of the future. This was as true for Mandelstam as it was for Celan, Améry and Rosenkranz, and for whole generations of writers under totalitarian regimes. The lack of stability invades the poet's relationship to time, so that the 'now' can barely be contemplated. There is not the distance needed in order to be able to observe it, just the permanent threat of not being able to rest in the acceptance of the present. Loss causes time to totter and lose its gentle regularity, which is also true in non-traumatic everyday life, when a loved person dies or lives at a distance and where absence can then become more relevant than presence, as in Edward Thomas's poem 'The Unknown': 'The simple lack/ Of her is more to me/ Than others' presence'.²¹⁶ This type of presence fills Rosenkranz's poetry and witnesses to the double reality of the outer events and those in the heart of the individual.

The difficulty of being frank with the present is that the outside reality seems to keep knocking against that which has been destroyed, so that in the case of those who survived the Holocaust, survival itself is not necessarily felt as a blessing. Memory, when dealing with loss, collides with the recurring demands of the new situation. Instead of being able to lay the past aside it seems to become more obtrusive than the present. Yet writing can help restore the equilibrium between the survivor's own sense of time and that of the context he is living in.

²¹⁵ Ossip Mandelstam, in *Meine Zeit, mein Tier: Ossip Mandelstam, Eine Biographie* by Ralph Dutli, (Zürich: Ammann, 2003), p. 366.

²¹⁶ Edward Thomas, 'The Unknown', in *The collected poems of Edward Thomas*, ed. by R. George Thomas, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), lines 15-18, p. 281.

The process of composing an account about the trauma and its consequences is thus a way to process traumatic experiences so that they can be successfully moved out of active memory into one's more inclusive memory structures and belief systems.²¹⁷

The longing for the past is expressed in different forms of 'Heimweh' when a homeland itself stills retains an emotional attraction. Homesickness marks an inability to be able to accept the present time and location as home. Ina-Maria Greverus notes that 'Fernweh' (longing to get away) and 'Heimweh' (longing to go home) both arise from the inability to accept the present and its location. In both cases there is the wish for a satisfactory relationship to the present home: 'handelt es sich um die Projektion der Satisfaktion in einem gedachten Raum aus einer unbefriedigten Territorialität im Gegenwartserleben'.²¹⁸ This unsatisfied sense of territory in the present clearly results from the refusal to accept the damage that has been done. Homesickness is a mixture of wretchedness about the loss and unwillingness or incapacity to accept the change. Forced into new territory, the person who has been displaced is torn between time and place, not being able to accept the distance from that which was familiar. Those who are homeless might speak of their *Heimat*, meaning the country or region in which they live, even if their experience was of living in a series of different homes, as did Mandelstam's brother when recalling the way the family had moved seventeen times during his childhood, yet there was no question of Ossip's loyalty to Russia as a country. In his case, homelessness was on a personal level and he remained nonetheless attached to the *Heimat* of Russia, just as Rosenkranz remained attached to the Bukovina in spite of having had so many different abodes there.

Thus, after enforced departure the victim's relationship to time and space is troubled by a merging of present and past which makes clear categories of emotions towards time periods impossible. Alexander Spiegelblatt, born in 1927 in the Bukovina, describes himself as a 'Verliebter in die Landschaft meiner Heimatstadt und als Verbitterter über ihren Verrat'.²¹⁹ The contradicting feelings toward home in his case turn the home of the past into mixed feelings of affection and betrayal. The novelist Aharon Appelfeld, also born in the Bukovina and now living in Israel recalls:

I came to Israel when I was fourteen years old, and I brought with me the experience of an eighty-five year old. I went through all the camps, through all the hidings being involved with all kinds of people. And it was difficult to express. To find the proper words for it. To speak in an honest way, in a proper way – not too high and not too low.²²⁰

²¹⁷ Susanne Veas-Gulani, p. 33.

²¹⁸ Ina Maria Greverus, *Der territoriale Mensch*, (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1972), p. 63.

²¹⁹ Alexander Spiegelblatt, *Durch das Okular eines Uhrmachers* (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 2003), p. 10.

²²⁰ <http://www.pwf.globalone.cz/2000/RozhovorEn/Appelfeld.htm> [accessed 5 June 2003]

Appelfeld's comment shows precisely how memory rubs against the new reality. Suffering, as seen in Appelfeld's case, seems to lengthen time and give a young person the depth of experience usually associated with old age. The new world that Appelfeld faced made it difficult for him to react appropriately to the present. Time seemed to be off-course, as he could neither have the naivety of adolescence, nor the status of an old man. Extreme loss sets one apart from those who have not experienced it and becomes a form of vulnerability which hides itself, a form of exposure that has no refuge: 'Il y a dans la souffrance une absence de tout refuge'.²²¹

As the focus in Rosenkranz's verse is so much on what is absent, one path of returning to anything familiar seems to be found in the act of writing. In the examples chosen loss is seen to have a destabilising effect on the poet's tone, on the way time is perceived and on the way the individual interacts with his or her surroundings after the occurrence of the loss. These shifts also affect the equilibrium of the 'I' to 'you', making them move into each other and disturb the clarity of the two separate entities. The nature of this imbalance between past, present and future, as caused by violent loss, is an essential part of the new communities that can be created by using literature which uses the imagination and not just the factual memory of the poet in order to create a new work of art.

In his Bremen speech Celan speaks of the time in the poem as needing to be transcended: 'Denn das Gedicht ist nicht zeitlos. Gewiß, es erhebt einen Unendlichkeitsanspruch, es sucht, durch, durch die Zeit hindurchzugreifen – durch sie hindurch, nicht über sie hinweg.'²²² Yet the biographical reality was one where the clear notion of time could cause bewilderment: 'was tat ich bislang, wenn ich Zeit hatte? Ich wartete auf die Zeit'.²²³ In this letter to Diet Kloos-Barendregt in 1949 Celan uses the image of all the bells of Paris ringing at different times to mark the hour and the way this disagreement between the church bells echoed his own ambiguous feelings toward time.

In the writer's relationship to time there is a poetic and factual lack of objectivity which gives room for the formation of a new substitute identity which the poet can adorn. Imagination and memory combine to create a new reality in the work of art.

The problem posed by the entanglement of memory and imagination is as old as Western philosophy. Socratic philosophy bequeathed to us two rival

²²¹ Emmanuel Lévinas, *Le temps et l'autre*, 6th edn, (Paris: Quadrige, Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), p. 55.

²²² Paul Celan, 'Bremer Rede', *Gesammelte Werke III*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2000), p. 186.

²²³ Paul Celan, "Du mußt versuchen, auch den Schweigenden zu hören", *Briefe an Diet Kloos-Barendregt*, p. 68.

and complementary topoi on this subject one Platonic, the other Aristotelian. The first, centered on the theme of the eikon, speaks of the present representation of an absent thing; it argues implicitly for enclosing the problematic of memory within that of imagination. The second, centered on the theme of the representation of a thing formerly perceived, acquired or learned, argues for including the problematic of the image within that of remembering. These are the two versions of the aporia of imagination and memory from which we can never completely extricate ourselves.²²⁴

The mixture of memory and imagination is a major part of the poetic activity and the very ambiguity within each field leads to the imagery that does not keep clear distinctions between them.

The distortion of the relationship between various periods of time clearly led to a mixture of fact and imagination which was reflected in words but also in the absence of them. Silence was a forceful means of framing reactions to that about which could not be spoken and it became a theme of its own within poems.

²²⁴ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting*, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 7.

Silence

Silence can become a reaction to the way unstable political time can lead to a disjointed sense of personal relationship to the present. As an ambiguous space created by words, silence is able to transmit a variety of messages. In this sense silence gains an important role within the question of what constitutes language. It can be the expression of opposite meanings, ranging from sorrow to joy, from anger to approval. Choosing the ambiguity of silence can also be a means of restoring personal balance, as can be seen in the psychological phenomenon of selective mutism, where one chooses to speak to only one person. In this section some of the benefits and some of the dangers of silence in poetry will be examined by looking at the way it can be a necessary reaction or a seductive trap.

Silence is often considered an ideal, a form of ascetic virtue, a state to be achieved in itself. Yet it can become like the type of music which merely creates an atmosphere, without having real substance. In her work on the negativity of language in poetry Shira Wolosky points out the ambivalent role of language in the Western tradition:

By making the inadequacy of language into the highest rhetorical praise, inexpressibility raises meaning to a state beyond limit and formulation, into the infinite. But this is to appeal to hierarchies that are fundamentally theological and, at their extreme, mystical. Inexpressibility is a literary device that carries with it a whole history of metaphysics, a set of often unconscious but deeply entrenched commitments that continue to shape our imagination and understanding. In particular, it opens to view an ambivalence toward language deeply embedded within the Western tradition, in which language is seen as at best wanting, at worst profane, compared with the truth it would express. But this ambivalence to language takes its place in a broader ambivalence toward body, time, and toward difference, conditions for which language serves as image and with which it is closely linked on many levels.²²⁵

This relationship of words to the external factor of the body and time is precisely what *Sprache als Heimat* could mean when brought back to an interpersonal level. Without the outward manifestation of the being in the human being, or of language in words, there is no chance of limiting the scope of meaning and of relying on matter to express inner truths. The ambivalence towards words that Wolosky refers to as being particularly Western jeopardises any chance of externalising the need for belonging. Keeping community on a vague literary basis removes the presence of the material necessities which pursued Rosenkranz throughout

²²⁵ Shira Wolosky, *Language Mysticism: The Negative Way of Language in Eliot, Beckett, and Celan*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 1-2.

his life. It is this tension between the material and the mystical aspirations that makes *Sprache als Heimat* such a rich topic.

In his influential study on modern poetry, Hugo Friedrich reflects on the reasons why silence can be deceptive. Taking Mallarmé as an example, he concludes that as an ideal, silence can lead to a form of mysticism whose content may turn out to be very vague. 'In solchen Sätzen kehrt mystisches Denken wieder, für das aus der Erfahrung des Übersteigenden die Insuffizienz der Sprache folgt. Doch ist es zu einer Mystik des Nichts geworden, so wie es bei Baudelaire und Rimbaud war'.²²⁶ This silence leading to empty mysticism is where the exoticism of silence masks its true character. Although it may appear noble and desirable, it can also reveal itself as threatening when it has no purpose in itself. As a form of empty mysticism, silence can be the dangerous expression of despair, as it can represent a form of void which does not lead to change, but merely defines a mood without transforming it.

On the larger historical scale, silence must also be seen as the reaction of many writers to the misuse of language during the years preceding the Holocaust and during it. The war on language is well described by Wolfgang Frühwald, who captures the two main uses of German at the time:

Durch Agententerror, Entführung, Ermordung, durch diplomatische Interventionen, durch offene und versteckte Einschüchterungen, durch die Mobilisierung der deutschen Auslandskolonien suchten die neuen Herren in Deutschland, ihre wortmächtigen Gegner mundtot zu machen. [...] "An ihrer Sprache sollt ihr sie erkennen" – so beschrieb Theodor Haecker im entstellten Bibelzitat die Methoden des inneren und des äußeren Widerstandes gegen Hitler, doch soll schon Carl von Ossietzky auf die Frage, welche Strafe er für seine nationalsozialistischen Folterknechte ersinnen könnte, geantwortet haben: „Deutsch müßten sie lernen.“ Der Vater dieser sprachlichen Enthüllungversuche ist der österreichische Satiriker Karl Kraus, der 1933 in der Dritten Walpurgisnacht, im Anschluß an den berühmt gewordenen Einleitungssatz „Mir fällt zu Hitler nichts ein“, auf mehr als dreihundert Seiten zu belegen versuchte, daß die von den Nazis beschworene deutsche Revolution nichts anderes war als ein „vollkommener Umsturz im deutschen Sprachbereich“ [...]. Bertold Brecht, [...] war einer der wenigen, die sogleich erkannt haben, daß das Schweigen des sonst so beredten Satirikers markerschütternd durch den Propagandalärm des Tages dringen müßte.²²⁷

It is with this backdrop of the political reaction to the physical and linguistic violence that Rosenkranz and Celan tried to redefine their own relationship to words and the way silence could provide an escape or prove to be a trap.

²²⁶ Hugo Friedrich, *Die Struktur der modernen Lyrik*, (Hamburg: rowohlt 1956), p. 89.

²²⁷ Wolfgang Frühwald, 'Deutschland, bleiche Mutter – Die Auseinandersetzung um Wort und Begriff der Heimat Deutschland zwischen dem Nationalsozialismus und der Literatur des Exils' in *Heimat, Neue Erkundungen eines alten Themas* ed. by Horst Bienek, (Vienna, Munich: Hanser, 1985), p. 32.

The loss of language is often the reaction to the loss of that which had given meaning, as in the case of mourning. Being speechless reflects the profound inability to utter words in order to react to a situation. As such, silence was a constituent feature of poetry long before the Holocaust, but took on new significance with the horrors of the twentieth century. Arriving at the extremes of language should reveal something about the last frontiers of the human being's ability to belong. The unprecedented annihilation of life through the Holocaust led to a search for a much greater space for the unsayable in poetry. Unlike former uses of silence, the way Celan models stillness brings out a new disruption in the hitherto unquestioned basis of the use of words for the purpose of communicating with others. He questions language's trajectory throughout the events he witnessed:

Erreichbar, nah und unverloren blieb inmitten der Verluste dies eine: die Sprache. Sie, die Sprache, blieb unverloren, ja, trotz allem. Aber sie mußte nun hindurchgehen durch ihre eigenen Antwortlosigkeiten, hindurchgehen durch furchtbares Verstummen, hindurchgehen durch die tausend Finsternisse todbringender Rede. Sie ging hindurch und gab keine Worte her für das, was geschah; aber sie ging durch dieses Geschehen. Ging hindurch und durfte wieder zutage treten, 'angereichert' von all dem.²²⁸

The remains of language, as Celan sees it, is one in which words have been purged by silence and darkness. Yet language's journey through a thousand forms of darkness does not ensure the purification process; the end is an ambiguous and an ironic enrichment, as there can be no answer to the suffering of the Holocaust, which Celan does not mention by name in his Bremen speech. Adorno's much quoted verdict that writing poetry after Auschwitz was barbaric was brought into a new light by John Zilcosky, who convincingly shows that Adorno's question was more of a challenge than a dictum forbidding poetry. The question was rather whether language could include the knowledge of the horrors past and the implications of those ruptures for the future: 'Can culture invent a *form* capable of addressing "Auschwitz"?' is the way Zilcosky understands Adorno's statement.²²⁹ Zilcosky proves that Celan's suspicion of traditional form began to be noticeable in his poems from 1944 onwards, with the poem 'Nähe der Gräber' and the famous final couplet: 'Und duldest du, Mutter, wie einst, ach daheim, / den leisen, den deutschen, den schmerzlichen Reim?''²³⁰ The struggle was with form and with the type of language used, which would then amount to the profound questioning of the type of poetic language still possible. 'In his final line, Celan's narrator,

²²⁸ Paul Celan, 'Ansprache anlässlich der Entgegennahme des Literaturpreises der Freien Hansestadt Bremen', in: *Gesammelte Werke in fünf Bänden*, Bd.3, edited by Beda Allemann and Rudolf Bücher, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1983), p. 185-86.

²²⁹ John Zilcosky, 'Poetry After Auschwitz? Celan and Adorno Revisited', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 79 (2005), p. 672.

²³⁰ Paul Celan, 'Nähe der Gräber', quoted in John Zilcosky, p. 675.

pre-empting Adorno, asks whether such lyric beauty offends'.²³¹ This work on form, on what silence and words could or could no longer deliver was being carried out in different ways by Adorno and Celan simultaneously, without them initially having known of each other.

In his chapter on the way Celan reworks language, 'Laying Language Bare', Ulrich Baer refers to this breach of trust in the use of language:

Instead of proving incapable of creating a reality exclusively designed to annihilate all those designated and defined as "others", the nearly limitless capacity of language to describe the horrors of reality shattered the unspoken bond and injunction that its use – regardless of informational content – ought to entail. By using the specialized technical vocabularies wherein expressions of humanity lie buried and frozen, Celan exposes that even the discourses devoted to this phenomenon could rely on what Lévinas calls "words without logos". All language could suffer the fate of losing its moral grounding and drift away from the unspoken possibility of human exchange and address.²³²

Celan turns to language itself and asks whether it has the capacity to say what needs to be said. He does not question his ability to use words, but rather words' ability to express what he has read of the world. In one poem Celan uses the image of the word as a corpse to reverse the perspective:

Ein Wort-du weißt: eine Leiche.
Laß uns sie waschen
Laß uns sie kämmen
Laß uns ihr Aug
himmelwärts wenden.²³³

Here the word is seen as a corpse which is vulnerable and in need of care. Life has left the word and its eye must be turned toward heaven, presumably seen as a place of wordlessness, as it can no longer fulfil its function. Yet the word's life-giving function is somehow implicit. The word did have a life, even if the lyrical subject now sees it as having ended. Anthropomorphising words and insisting on their metaphysical identity could be understood as an attempt to restore the vitality of the word, or rather, to make use of the sparse meaning that words have left. It is also a personal attempt to reverse the mechanism of a propaganda which uses words in the service of a particular ideology. The whole endeavour of restoring the life of words can be seen as a reaction to the bulldozing reduction of meaning when language was used for the sake of propagating a message of death. Celan's poem takes the motif of the word becoming flesh and reverses it. The word turns into a corpse, as both the

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ulrich Baer, p. 196.

²³³ Paul Celan, 'Nächtlich geschürzt' in *Gedichte I*, lines 21-26, p. 125.

life of language and the life of the person have vanished. There remains just a shadow of the mystical power that words had once had because the lyrical subject seems to have lost hope in the power of the word, or at least to be deeply troubled about its potential. When the word, as an element of language in Celan's poem, is likened to a person with a limited life-span, as in 'Ein Wort - du weißt eine Leiche', the death of that word is an enforced silence, one imposed by outside users. The word remains a container with nothing left in it. This choice of not speaking arises from the intention to bring out the silence that is already present in meaning. Making it eloquent becomes the work of the writer or the artist.

For Rosenkranz silence provided a form of refuge which was not as existentially threatened as it was for Celan. His silence and his decision to create an indestructible scaffolding of meaning were both part of the same process of constructing an inner world in which words had a prominent place. Silence became the protective walls of that space. This was the beginning of a linguistic protection which would later provide an unusual degree of tenacity in the face of the cruelty of his enemies. He used the silence of speech as a way of affirming his independence and the events of his childhood led him to see the absence of words as his private inner asylum. An illustration of this is when his father found his brother Arnold taking violin lessons without his permission, their father broke the instrument on the child's head and Moses realised that his own inner world would have to become unshakable: 'Damals senkte sich der Kern für die ernsteren Dinge in meinem Verstande, in meine Seele. Sie sollten an nichts gebunden sein, was Vater oder sonstwer zerbrechen konnte'.²³⁴

The lack of words is a recurring theme in Rosenkranz's poems. It may refer to the loss of lyric inspiration, as in 'Zu singen gedacht ich', which only gently refers to the political surroundings in lines 14 and 15: 'Doch mein Lied ist stumm. Starr vom Grauen der Zeit'.²³⁵ Or it may be the loss of adequate articulation that is the more prominent topic of the poem when he addresses the horror of the events he has witnessed, as in 'Ein Klang der Stille', 'Pfingstmorgen', 'Spinnen' or 'Verelendung'.²³⁶ These forms of wordlessness do not call into question his relationship with language however, which he calls his 'Geliebtes', nor his self-perception of one who had to use words to make sense of his world. 'Nichts hatte ich der Welt zu künden/ die unversöhnt in Blut und Tränen stand/ mir selber suchte ich ein Lied zu finden/ im tauben Land'.²³⁷ The creed stated here defines his relationship to poetry and the silence he created within it. The Holocaust both caused his language to dry up and also gave him the

²³⁴ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 37.

²³⁵ Moses Rosenkranz, *Bukowina Gedichte*, p. 67.

²³⁶ Moses Rosenkranz, *Bukowina Gedichte*, p. 59, 72, 75 and 105 respectively.

²³⁷ Moses Rosenkranz, *Bukowina Gedichte*, p. 86.

personal comfort of belonging when using it. But when emotional silence threatened he incorporated it into the familiar form of his poems.

In 'Spinnen' the pogrom that must have occurred in Rosenkranz's presence becomes the onset for the poet's wringing with words. First written down in 1940, this poem is one of the witnesses to the brutality Rosenkranz had seen and which became a part of his own identity as a poet.

Zu sagen, was geschehen,
mit meinem Dorf geschah;
was ich dort selbst gesehen,
sind keine Worte da.

Nur Spinnen Spinnen gleiten,
wie Tränen, mir im Hirn;
sie gleiten wie an Leitern
an tausendfachem Zwirn.

Sie häkeln ihre Fäden
um mein Dorf herum,
drin seh ich's arme schweben,
und Spinnen Spinnen drum.

Sind keine Worte da,
zu sagen, was geschehen,
mit meinem Dorf geschah,
was ich dort selbst gesehen.

The spider, as a silent animal who weaves a web in order to trap its victim, suggests the inextricability of the one who witnessed the scene from its events. The silence evoked in the second stanza addresses the internalisation of the physical violence. The 'Zwirn' and the 'Fäden' wrap the whole village in a web, an entity which transfers the unmentioned events to the inescapable threads that trap the one watching. The emphasis is not on the injustice or cruelty of what happened but on the sadness that it left behind in the mind of the one who observed it and on the bewilderment caused. This results in a focus on the inability to describe what happened and on the disrupted use of language. The very fact that all that was seen becomes encapsulated in the one image of the spiders makes the effect of the events rather than the events themselves the topic of the poem. In the first and the last stanza the poetic voice repeats how helpless words are to describe what was witnessed. In lines 5-12 the spiders are like an invasive presence in the mind of the lyrical subject and within the village itself. The sense of being overwhelmed and of not being able to exit from the knowledge of what had occurred is evoked in line nine, where the web the spiders form seems to seal off the violence and the abnormalities of the events and make them inaccessible. The fact that

Rosenkranz could write about not being able to write transforms the emotional response into a poetic construction.

For Rosenkranz using words became more and more of a necessity as the incomprehensibility of what occurred around him increased his bewilderment. The more events overwhelmed him, the more he needed to write. In the periods when Rosenkranz was not directly forbidden to write, he struggled with the silence that he had not chosen. His attempt to write a song in praise of nature is defeated by something he does not name:

O Juniwelt, flimmernd von Glück und von Tau,
Dich preisend wollte ich singen;
Die Luft ist so rein und der Himmel so blau,
das Lied aber will nicht gelingen.²³⁸

Only the date of the title, 1941, tells why the song could not be sung. The tone is ironic as the subject tries to rejoice in the beauty of nature, but is not able to. Silence was an overpowering force rather than something chosen. When events confounded Rosenkranz silence was often the expression of a search to realign the letters of the chaos. For him it was the old song that could not be sung and this became a form of homelessness with which he had to wrestle. There is no evidence in his works that he considered the refusal to write as a way of responding to the events occurring around him. This would be an example of what Alfred Kantorowicz meant when claiming that only losing language makes one lose home: 'Erst wenn man sprachlos wird, ist man heimatlos. Dann haben die 'Untertanen' das Wort. Ihr Jargon paßt sich dem Wortschatz der jeweiligen Machthaber an'.²³⁹ Rosenkranz fought against the homelessness of not being able to use words at all. He did not give in to the doubt of their weakness, even if the words themselves referred to silence.

His different types of references to silence indicate the versatility of its meaning. In a short poem that could be applied to the current ecological crisis Rosenkranz addresses the unity of humanity with the environment, showing how the suffering of one affects the other:

Verelendung

Die Berge geplündert
die Wälder gefällt
es wird flacher und kälter
und stumm in der Welt.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Rosenkranz, 'Pfingstmorgen 1941', *Bukowina Gedichte*, p. 72.

²³⁹ Alfred Kantorowicz, 'Sprache als Heimat' in *Mehr als Worte; Aussagen und Anmerkungen zur deutschen Sprache*, ed. by Steigner, (Düsseldorf, Vienna: Walter Econ, 1980), p. 73.

²⁴⁰ Rosenkranz, *Bukowina Gedichte*, p. 105.

Dated 1936, the destruction of the environment in this poem is linked to the loss of language. The title of the poem refers to the process of deepening misery. As the erosion of mountain and forest life advances, so does the sound decrease to muteness. This impression is strengthened by the sound of the words themselves, with the comparatives 'flacher' and 'kälter' leading to the final, solid sounding 'stumm' in the last line. In his poems Rosenkranz was able to create poetic silence by condensing the emotional response to a situation and transforming the initial inability to describe the events.

For Rosenkranz silence was also an important phase of making a home. Some of the anecdotes in his autobiography about his family indicate that wordlessness was in some cases the only expression of well-being. One of his aunts barely spoke and he described her as being like a pine tree that is only heard at night when the wind blows through it: 'Sie war nicht redseliger als ein Nadelbaum, durch den der Nachtwind raschelt'.²⁴¹ He portrayed her taciturnity by comparing it to nature which was also the source of his inspiration. Clearly then, keeping words stored away and not using them for interpersonal situations was seen as a possible mode of existence for both of them. As a child, he also found a friend of his wordlessness in the rabbi's daughter Andsja. She was a year older than him and not verbose either. One account relates the way in which they sat together from afternoon until sunset without exchanging a word. The same happened the following days until Andsja said to him: 'Man muß auch sprechen' and he replied 'nein' and they were silent for several more days.²⁴² Both memories provide a delicate sketch of his inner disposition. His relationship to the rabbi's daughter tells how silence was often Rosenkranz's reaction to chaos. Not speaking was one form of protest that allowed him to come to terms with new situations. Was it the abundance of people and the sparseness of material goods that produced this kind of retreat into an inner world? Was it a form of the matter-of-factness that goes with rural life? No explanation is given and the question is not asked in the memoirs. There were just four languages on one side of the balance of communication, and muteness on the other.

When chosen as an element of literature, silence can be considered on its own terms, without being seen as a negative. Adam Jaworski sees 'silence as metaphor for communication', so as to go beyond the common perception of it as 'absence of sound'.²⁴³ In German the very fact that the verb is active indicates its status as an element of communication. It is not just an absence of speech, it is a form of speech. It can be an imperative, as in Bach's Christmas Oratorio: 'Schweig, schweig, er ist schon wirklich hier!' as a musical interruption of those

²⁴¹ Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 24.

²⁴² Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 104.

²⁴³ Adam Jaworski, *Silence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), p. 3.

complaining about the slow arrival of the Messiah. The command is to do something, not to be passive. It contains more urgency than the more gentle 'be quiet!', being an order to do, not to be. In English being silent is a passive state, as if a person were overtaken by stillness and no longer in a position to decide whether to speak or not. Yet silence in poetry is created and this is what is relevant when considering its part in the development of language as *Heimat*.

In Rosenkranz's poems we see the threat of silence as a struggle for words, but not one which he gives in to. In his biography silence played the part of a refuge and in his correspondence this faith in language is evident, where, despite the many material hardships he and Anna faced, he did not question his literary aspirations. In contrast, Celan wrestled with his doubts in the nature of language. Chosen silence provided a space which could call into meaning that which direct designation could not. Yet when considering the different natures of Celan's and Rosenkranz's poetic use of silence a question forms as to the type of *Heimat* that this language provides, where the silences are so loaded and the ambiguity towards words and their reception is so uncertain. As silence is not an opposite of language but rather an integral part of it, its part in *Sprache als Heimat* turns out to be an unreliable form of the language that can provide belonging. Constructed poetic silence can be the invitation to share common emotions with the author or a conscious effort to remind the reader of the mutual isolation of each user of language. As a part of *Heimat* silence is an uncomfortable dwelling place.

George Steiner's *Language and Silence* marked a crucial stage in the research on the relationship between words and their absence. He attacks the verbosity of modern life and on the illiteracy accompanying it: 'In how much of what is now pouring forth do words become word—and where is the silence needed if we are to hear that metamorphosis?'²⁴⁴ Published in 1967 this question addresses the same issues that Celan and Adorno had been tackling more than twenty years previously when doubting the old forms' ability to express the otherness of the Holocaust. The potentially transforming role of silence can have the same effect as shadows on the object casting them. Silence refers to the action, to the person, to the feelings which can be uttered, but does so with fleeting contours. The ambiguity that derives from them can both attract and reject the listener or the reader. The silence of communion is one final aspect of language and belonging that affects *Sprache als Heimat*.

In the following lines of Celan's poem 'Aus Herzen und Hirnen' silence is the beginning of the troubled understanding between two people. It contains the tension of the attraction between them:

²⁴⁴ George Steiner, *Language and Silence: Essays 1958-1966*, (London: Faber, 1967), p. 73.

Blicklos
 schweigt nun dein Aug in mein Aug sich,
 wandernd
 heb ich dein Herz an die Lippen,
 hebst du mein Herz an die deinen:
 was wir jetzt trinken, stillt den Durst der Stunden;
 was wir jetzt sind,
 schenken die Stunden der Zeit ein.

Munden wir ihr?
 Kein Laut und kein Licht
 schlüpft zwischen uns, es zu sagen.²⁴⁵

‘Sich schweigen’ is the unusual verb that Celan invents here. By making it a reflexive verb, he combines the active refraining from speaking and the silencing of the self. ‘Sich schweigen in’ means that one silences oneself into something or somewhere else. *Your eye silences itself into mine* would be a rough translation. The visual and the auditory merge into the absence of words.

Yet the question ‘munden wir ihr?’ marks the uncertainty of the relationship between the ‘wir’ in the poem and time. ‘Munden’ would usually be used for food or drink, to ask if it was to a person’s taste. Here the person speaking in the poem asks if they were agreeable to time itself. Yet there is also the echo of ‘Mündigkeit’, responsibility. The change of perspective, where the focus is on the way time sees the ‘wir’ in the poem, suggests the disquiet of the dialogue between the two persons in the poem and between them and time itself.

The absence of sound and light suggests a doubt about the event of the moment being able to survive. Because of the hermetic nature of this silence the separateness of the two individuals becomes a confused identity. It is more a fusion than an encounter. The self-reflexive part of being makes the silence more opaque and the double nature of the person, as existing and able to reflect on his own existence contains the dividing line in the communicative function of language. Within the subject there is already a depth into which the lyricist can fall without losing control. Lévinas calls this the weight of existence:

L’existence traîne un poids – ne fût-ce qu’elle-même – qui complique son voyage d’existence. Chargée d’elle-même – omnia sua secum portans – elle n’a pas le calme serein du sage antique. Elle n’existe pas purement et simplement. Son mouvement d’existence qui pourrait être pur et droit s’infléchit et s’embourbe en lui-même, révélant dans le verbe être son caractère de verbe réfléchi: on n’est pas, on s’est.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ Paul Celan, ‘Aus Herzen und Hirnen’ in *Halme der Nacht*, lines 11-22, *Gedichte I*, p. 70.

²⁴⁶ Emmanuel Lévinas, *De l’existence à l’existant*, (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1998), p. 38.

Lévinas's verb 's'être' and Celan's 'sich schweigen' meet. In both cases the relationship to the self threatens the relationship to the other. The self-containment of the encounter in the poem is double: 'Kein Laut und kein Licht/ schlüpft zwischen uns, es zu sagen'. There is nothing to hear or see and yet there is an 'uns' against which information collides. It is not a mere abandonment of one to the other; the very identity of each is not intact, but rather already partly present in the other. The coming together of the two people is based on information that neither words nor visual clues can express. Yet the temporality of the subject is suspended: 'was wir jetzt trinken, stillt den Durst der Stunden'. The thirst of the two people is transferred to time and becomes the thirst of the hours. Whatever communication takes place, it occurs in silence. This is a more fundamental version of the communication that words allow. It is one where the message is contained in looks, in that which is not said, also in that which can be misunderstood. Silence can therefore be seen as an immanent part of the expression of belonging with the risk of the misinterpretations and missed opportunities that it can entail. As a shadow of the images created by words, silence can also create a form of belonging.

Although Celan's use of silence differs radically from Rosenkranz's, in both cases it is a linguistic aspect of their use of words, which affects the forms of *Sprache als Heimat*. Whether as a reaction to events or as a way of expressing solidarity with those suffering, silence can convey a sense of belonging through wordlessness. It indicates a language which includes the non-verbal, but it forms ambiguity which makes it more difficult to determine the boundaries of language's potential to become a home and although acoustically silence does not vary, its nature does change depending on whether it is used to refer to the inclusion or exclusion of the other. It can also exude the seductive attraction of aesthetics that create a mysterious atmosphere but do not provide the basic necessities of a healthy habitat. Silence thus creates an insecure *Heimat*.

Steiner also made the claim that silence is sometimes the best response to injustice: 'When the words in the city are full of savagery and lies, nothing speaks louder than the unwritten poem'.²⁴⁷ Yet even the unwritten poem is only can only be contemplated when words are used to do so, and the paradox is that in order to focus the mind on the unheard in a cognitive sense one must use linguistic formulae, just as in architecture material must be used to focus on the absence of substance. An impressive example of words that evoke the power of silence is found in the following poem by the Scottish poet Peter Mc Carey. In it he articulates the area between what is thought and what is written, thereby revealing the world of difference between the poem on the page and the 'unwritten poem':

²⁴⁷ George Steiner, p. 74.

Poems never written down
 pebbles in the ocean's throat
 Lagavulin's tawny shine
 claret's memories of oak
 that never took to shingle beach
 or saw its seasoned rings would rhyme
 in rosined ships, in reels of mine;
 we're fiddles sunken in their song
 from peg to bridge, across the briny
 ocean-o to Capricorn
 from Uist, garrisoned with sheep
 and two-and-twenty (count them) years
 asleep in postcards. Out of the blue
 a curving swell will hit the shore
 from blistered winds in ecstasy
 that none survived, or no one knew.²⁴⁸

The inversion of fiddles being 'sunken in their song' is the same type of image as Celan's word being a corpse. The instrument or the words that used to refer to human expression now become the object being looked at, like the empty spaces in a painting (the absence in Magritte's 'L'homme au journal' or Seamus Heaney's 'sunlit absence').²⁴⁹ The transitory nature of art and especially of the art which is at a junction with creation, when not being kept for posterity, is the subject here. Mc Carey's illumination of the unsaid and unwritten comes to its brightest when the second sentence begins 'out of the blue'. Suddenly the unknown and the known converge in the blue of the water on the shore and in the ink on the paper. What sounds like a chance element: 'out of the blue' is in fact the work of the poet. The poet brings the event back 'out of the blue' by writing it down. The 'linguistic space' leaves room for the mystery of semantic inversion in poetry but in prose it takes an anti-hero to live it, a K. from the Castle or a waiter for Godot, but in everyday life it can drive people insane. It is within this very space that Rosenkranz was trapped. Although his poems are more literal than Celan's, he was taunted throughout his life by the temptation that art could provide enough of a dwelling space. Many of his letters from the Anna Ruebner-Rosenkranz collection are about the torment of wanting only to write, even if he put their relationship at risk by doing so. The conflict between art's potential to reveal a hidden truth and that of dealing with the equally challenging material needs of everyday life originates in the question of whether the type of *Heimat* one refers to deals with the material challenges involved.

The poet who chooses silence as a means of communication reveals precisely the inversion we have been examining. Reflexivity turns on itself. The object and the subject merge. Home and the inhabitant become one in linguistic silence and the 'space' of language becomes as much of a danger as it was a comfort. The demarcation line has moved subtly from expression

²⁴⁸ Peter Mc Carey, 'Poems never written down', in *In the Metaforest*, (London: Vennel Press, 2000), p. 53.

²⁴⁹ Seamus Heaney, 'Sunlight' in *North*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 8.

to impression so that the words seem to have been given a life of their own by the author. Metaphors become literalised, as in the case of a word becoming a corpse in Celan, or the world becoming mute in Rosenkranz; objects become the speakers of language.

Silence then indicates empty spaces in which both past and future phenomena can be made present by means of memory or imagination. When chosen, silence is a linguistic instrument that enables a writer to evoke the unknown and the unnamed, but what do the empty spaces say about language as a home? That which is made present by underlining its absence has a mysterious quality because of the way it is suspended in time, either referring to the about-to-be or the once-was. The temporality of that absence makes it an analogy for home in the way it evolves and disintegrates depending on the life of those living in it. This interplay of negative and positive that happens within language and in the lives of those inhabiting physical homes helps to explain how the positive expanse provided by the metaphor of *Sprache als Heimat* was more inspiring than its limitations in practical terms. The homelessness that the writers experienced was turned into a concept that elevated their own role as poets but downplayed the suffering from material misery, just as Rosenkranz's letters are full of the concerns about how to deal with material poverty, but his poems express his love of language and his sense of identification with it: 'Wie Lawa, glühende Erdstoffe kommts in gewaltiger Sprachmaterie aus mir heraus'.²⁵⁰ This intellectual richness contrasted with his inability to be able to provide a home for his wife: 'Du sollst keinesfalls her kommen [...]. Und mein Zimmer ist kalt, da ich nicht heitze' (sic.).²⁵¹ Yet the ephemerality of words and patterns of belonging only echo their dubious value in the first place. In 'Mein Gedanke' Rosenkranz expresses this fleeting character of his own thoughts.²⁵²

Mein Gedanke

Mein Gedanke geht
nicht tiefer als der Staub
der Windes leichter Raub
übers Land hinweht

Will nicht sicher baun
sich in die Erde ein
verdunkeln Sonnenschein
und die Wasser staun

Will im Weg nicht stehn
nur ums bedachte Ding
sich als ein Nebelring

²⁵⁰ Moses Rosenkranz Collection, AR 25087, letters to Anna Ruebner-Rosenkranz, 1936, frame 030, box 1 folder 4, Leo Baeck Institute New York.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 29.12.1939, frame 242.

²⁵² Moses Rosenkranz, *Visionen*, p. 133.

bilden und vergehn

The image of dust being carried away by the wind to describe the thought is fastened by the poem itself which encloses in on the moment of the thought's movements. The lightness of the thought and the subject's wish that the thought should not take root to obstruct anything else makes the empty spaces of where the mental images or ideas had been come to the surface. The ring of fog only alludes to that which had been thought and the emphasis remains on the way it had formed and then passed over. The poem grants a particular worth to that which is fleeting and captures the sense of suspended time.

The concentration of the no-longer-inhabited or the inside of objects have recently become the theme in the plastic arts too, in particular in the works of Rachel Whiteread, whose sculptures insist on the spaces between things, or after things. Her works exteriorise silent spaces by refocusing the viewer's attention on the negative spaces which can reveal much about what is no longer the main function of the object.

Her Holocaust memorial in Vienna, where the books of the library are turned backwards so that one cannot read the spines, makes the viewer consider the power of names. Their absence reminds one of how much one needed them. There is no handle to the door on the library and this too indicates the irretrievability of its contents. The silence that emerges from her monument is one which turns one's thinking to that which is lost, to the dead and to their lives and to all that which cannot be replaced. Her work may question the power of words, but that power is not denied. The biographies which she shows to be no longer accessible gain poignancy precisely because of her emphasis on the loss. Her use of the imprints of objects is a sculptural parallel to the creation of silence in the poetry of Celan and Rosenkranz. In both there is what Charlotte Mullins calls the 'initial sense of seductive familiarity with the everyday forms; a disturbing feeling of exclusion and loss when the inside-out conceptualism of each sculpture reveals itself and the destruction of the original object is understood.'²⁵³ She manages to make present that which is no longer.

Whiteread's works often intimate that something has been lost, but sometimes they reveal the opposite -- sometimes the viewer discovers something they always knew existed but could not identify visually. Her sculptures investigate the relationship between matter and its corresponding negative space, between what we have imagined lost and what we have discovered found.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Charlotte Mullins, *Rachel Whiteread*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2004), p. 116 and 119.

²⁵⁴ <http://www.artandculture.com/cgi-bin/WebObjects/ACLive/woa/wa/artist?id=1171> [accessed 8 April 2006].

Steiner makes the connection between the various art forms, using Hölderlin as an early example of poems with empty spaces:

As empty space is so expressly a part of modern painting and sculpture, as the silent intervals are so integral to a composition by Webern, so the void places in Hölderlin's poems, particularly in the late fragments, seem indispensable to the completion of the poetic act. His posthumous life in a shell of quiet, similar to that of Nietzsche, stands for the word's surpassing of itself, for its realization not in another medium but in that which is its echoing antithesis and defining negation, silence.²⁵⁵

The echoes of sound then draw uncertain contours of meaning. This negativity of space has turned into a positive concept in language and has confused the issues involved in the values of stability and reliability formerly implied in the word 'home'. Empty spaces in language or in sculptures or paintings refer back to a presence that once had existed by indicating past figures and realities, or by indicating possibilities. In writing they create a reference to that which is no longer or not yet, rather than reaffirming certainties which could create a space of belonging.

²⁵⁵ George Steiner, *Language and Silence*, p. 67.

Losing the subject

In the aftermaths of the losses caused by separation, deprivation and death, Rosenkranz's writing becomes full of that which has been removed. When the loss of all that is familiar causes the writer to question even the means of describing that loss, an inversion can occur in writing, where the subject and the object are no longer in the same relationship to each other as they had been previously. In *Erziehung zum Überleben* Bruno Bettelheim expresses this split when he recalls the way he chose to be able to deal with the violence that was being inflicted on him in the transports and in the concentration camps. By distancing himself from his body and seeing himself as an object he was able to maintain his sense of who he was as a subject:

Der Autor zweifelt nicht daran, daß er den Transport und alle Mißhandlungen nur deshalb überstand, weil er schon ganz am Anfang zu der Überzeugung gelangte, daß diese schrecklichen und entwürdigenden Erfahrungen nicht "ihm" als Subjekt, sonder nur "ihm" als Objekt zustießen.²⁵⁶

This split between the perception of oneself as either subject or object has its effect on the way that *Sprache als Heimat* is understood. The perceived separation of self into subject and object can be one of the results of an extreme loss of self or as a means of preservation.

Dominick La Capra's description of trauma concentrates on this split within the self, seeing it as a disarticulation:

[Trauma is a] disruptive experience that disarticulates the self and creates holes in existence; it has belated effects that are only controlled with difficulty and perhaps never fully mastered. The study of traumatic events poses especially difficult problems in representation both for research and for any dialogic exchange with the past which acknowledges the claims it makes on people and relates it to the present and future.²⁵⁷

The disarticulation of the self is that which is found in Celan's 'Es war Erde in ihnen und sie gruben' verse and in other poems from the Bukovina, in particular 'Die Schule des Todes' by Alfred Kittner. In the experience of Holocaust survivors one of the effects of inflicted loss was the way that the victim began to perceive himself as mere matter. In Celan's poem 'Es war Erde in ihnen und sie gruben' this interchangeability of matter and person, as seen by

²⁵⁶ Bruno Bettelheim, *Erziehung zum Überleben*, (Munich: dtv, 1982), p. 73.

²⁵⁷ Dominick La Capra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 41.

those inflicting it on their victims, becomes a new reversal of subject-object. Human energy was being used to decimate human beings. 'Es war Erde in ihnen und sie gruben' shows how the object of the verb 'to dig' actually becomes the subject: the earth was already in those who were digging it.²⁵⁸ Outside and inside matter collapse and those digging the grave ended up being the ones to lie in it.

Sie gruben und hörten nichts mehr;
Sie wurden nicht weise, erfanden kein Lied,
Erdachten sich keinerlei Sprache.
Sie gruben.

The destruction process is set in contrast to the intellectual-spiritual growth often seen as a by-product of suffering. This poem, in which the earth presumably must be dug for the diggers' own grave in a labour camp setting, retells the destruction that the prisoners had to inflict on themselves: 'Es war Erde in ihnen, und sie gruben'. They could no longer hear anything and their position was not one in which they could make inner progress of any kind by becoming wiser. There was only outer and inner destruction. There was nothing left to contemplate. The inner self was already conquered by the outer matter of the earth that they were forced to dig, so that there was barely a dividing line between their bodies and the earth in which they would soon lie. They were defeated by the object of their labour and had been reduced to becoming that same object of their work. In grammatical terms the subject had become the object, as the earth was in them. There was no new song, no new language that would have spoken or sung of what was happening, no human act of transformation possible anymore. The act of digging took away the strength to be able to see the process from the outside. The theme of enforced departure from home is taken to its extreme in this poem by the reduction of the 'sie' to a merely physical presence, by divorcing the spirit from the body. Here only the body seems to exist. The spirit seems to be absent from the bodies, although they are still alive. The poem reveals how the fusion of the body with the earth completes the literal process of humiliation. The diggers themselves were houses for death already. They were graves themselves, carrying in them the other dead and the earth that would bury them too. The physicality of their presence is their only knowledge of themselves. By stating 'sie wurden nicht weise, erfanden kein Lied' Celan insists that nothing positive came out of the situation. For them there was only the humiliation and any other perspective would be merely an outsider's invention. The violation was not only inflicting violence but also of making the prisoners inflict it on themselves, forcing them to act against their instincts. This final form of removing the body as the person's last home and means of expression is the most thorough.

²⁵⁸ Paul Celan, 'Es war Erde in ihnen, und sie gruben' in *Gedichte I*, lines 5-8, p. 211.

This literal reading of the process of enforced self-destruction is a necessary stage in the interpretation of the larger issues at stake in the poem. The reference to earth as the final destination of the camp's inmates is seen in other Celan poems too. In 'Psalm' the inversion of the Adamitic account of the creation of man is also expressed: 'Niemand knetet uns wieder aus Erde und Lehm, / niemand bespricht unsern Staub. / Niemand.'²⁵⁹ Here the earth is not brought to life by the Creator, and there is no new creation derived from the earth as there is in the Genesis account of God using earth for the creation of man. Celan refers to both a mythical and a political reversal of creation, there being no words that could give new life. Death, when personified in medieval depictions as a man carrying a sickle to reap the harvest, or sung about as the 'man going round taking names' (as in the Negro Spiritual), is seen as having a will and a language of its own. Its language entails the silencing of the person it visits.

The following poem 'Die Schule des Todes' by Alfred Kittner shows death becoming a subject.²⁶⁰ Symbols became signs to refer to the dead and the process of learning was aimed at the knowledge of dying. The poem not only personifies death but shows how those who were responsible for it became anonymous, a self-propagating process which had no individual name.

Was hier in diesem Buche steht,
Es ist ein klappernd Alphabet.
Wir lernten sterben und verwesen
Und können es drum fließend lesen.

Wenn mich der Tod zur Tafel ruft,
Das A ist Grab, das U ist Gruft.
Muß ich zur letzten Stunde gehen,
Werd ich die Prüfung wohl bestehn.

Es hat der Tod sich nicht gescheut
Und seine Schrift uns eingebleut,
Und daß wir auch die Ziffern kennen,
Ließ er sie auf die Haut uns brennen.

Erlöse uns von allem Übel:
Das buchstabier ich in der Fibel
Des Todes nun schon mühelos,
Steh vor dem Rost ich nackt und bloß.

In Kittner's poem death becomes the instructor, the lesson and the method of learning. In this new alphabet the letters refer to the place where the corpse can lie. The adjective 'klappernd'

²⁵⁹ Paul Celan, 'Psalm', *Gedichte I*, lines 1-3, p. 225.

²⁶⁰ Alfred Kittner, 'Die Schule des Todes', 1945, in *Fäden ins Nichts Gespannt*, p. 97.

(‘rattling’) creates the image of a talking skull, whose clattering teeth can recite death’s alphabet. Right from the beginning of the poem there is the paradox between death and the growth normally associated with the childhood scene of the classroom. Fluency in reading death’s alphabet is an ironic achievement. Line four states that the alphabet of death was one that the pupils could read without effort. The absence of a subject to dictate the letters of death is the result of a whole death-causing machinery, as the routine logic of death had amounted to a systematised ideology that seemed to erase the human source of language. Death is then the one who is seen as taking on a form and become eloquent. The absolute loss of life seems to gain a language of its own.

Death as the teacher appears explicitly in line five and line nine of Kittner’s poem. The word ‘eingebleut’ in line ten means both to deceive someone by hammering a message in and also refers to the literal use of ink in the number tattoos of the concentration camp prisoners. The factual nature of the events endured and the lie of the message conveyed (that human beings were mere numbers) are brought together in this one verb. It acts as the pivot of the whole poem. Information was not only delivered on paper and boards but also by the writing on the victim’s flesh. Tattooing became a means of inflicting language on the victims. This was another inversion of language, where signs were no longer used to communicate, but where one’s own skin could become the page for somebody else’s book of statistics. The lessons that death teaches are of how to approach it, not how to avoid it.

In order to write about death’s school, as in the Kittner poem, the lyrical subject must still be capable of looking on. The reduction has not succeeded in decimating the final level of freedom of thought, as can be the case in severe and prolonged torture. In confronting death, Kittner demonstrates the courage of one who sees evil rather than death as the greatest threat. The freedom to use language for the sake of a prayer (‘erlöse uns von allem Übel’) instead of destruction means that for Kittner writing was still a means of dialogue between the ‘I’ of the poem and death. At the end of the poem it is the pupil who writes this petition into the spelling book and this makes him victorious despite his vulnerability. The reference to the last part of the Christian Lord’s Prayer becomes his own triumph over the seeming power of death. The subject is able to challenge death’s writing by spelling his own creed into the book. Thus innocence could be seen as having gained more worth than life itself. The ideology of destruction is overcome by the belief in redemption from evil. Here the lyrical subject learns death’s logic but refuses to be defeated by it. This dialogue of the speaker with death still contains the faith in the dignity of the person.

In comparison to Celan’s poem ‘Es war Erde in ihnen’, Kittner’s ‘Schule des Todes’ linguistically prolongs the line of the dehumanisation of language and arrives at the point

where the human being is no longer the one speaking, but rather the destruction process itself, as is the case in Celan's 'Todesfuge', where death becomes embodied in one persona: 'der Tod ist ein Meister aus Deutschland'.²⁶¹ Celan emphasised the way matter seemed more real than humanity and Kittner shows how the normal silencing of human language at the moment of death now becomes the main communicator of the message of destruction. Kittner's extreme example of the effect of loss on language raises the question of the nature of the subject and object, of who is agent and who is the passive body of an action. The question of how subject and object relate to each other in language is central to the question of *Sprache als Heimat*. The subject itself calls for a response, and it is this response which determines the usage of language. If silence and death become the 'speakers' there is the danger of acquiring a language without a subject. The focus is then on the way language works, rather than its origin and aim, as Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe observes when reflecting on the nature of this language without a subject:

The question I ask myself is indeed that of the subject, that cancer of the subject, both the ego's and the masses. [...] Because it is first the question of whoever today (heute) might speak a language other than the subject's, and attest or respond to the unprecedented ignominy that the "age of the subject" rendered itself – and remains—guilty of.²⁶²

Lacoue-Labarthe is able to show how the language that is left in Celan's poetry is that which refers to the collapse of the identity-forming concepts as we knew them. It is an illumination of the outer structures, no longer of what they had contained.

Making death become the subject of the poem ironically removes the focus on the ones responsible for it. Death has become the subject, rather than the dying person. No one actually seems to cause the harm. Death has its language and it seems that language has no subject; it speaks on its own. Words had already become what Améry would call the death threat: 'Die Wörter waren schwer von einer gegebenen Wirklichkeit, die hieß Todesdrohung.'²⁶³ The individual choice of words is no longer a topic because words are either part of the jargon or they are silenced. One consequence is that letters turn into numbers, as there are no names left. People become things, letters and numbers are both subtracted or deleted from the human account. The reduction, or 'Verdinglichung' of a person to a number is the reverse process of learning how to write one's name by using letters. In this case the number becomes a symbol for the person, who is thus moved into the category of objects. Communication was based on the main message of an intention to kill, which necessarily meant a very different kind of

²⁶¹ Paul Celan, 'Todesfuge', *Gedichte I*, p. 42.

²⁶² Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe, *Poetry as Experience*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 13-14.

²⁶³ Jean Améry, *Jenseits von Schuld und Sühne*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), p. 90.

vocabulary and grammar from that of life in all its forms. The proximity of letters to numbers and yet the contrary nature of the type of information they convey is brought together in the startling inscription on Améry's tombstone in the Zentralfriedhof in Vienna, which reads 'Jean Améry, 1912-1978' and below: 'Auschwitz Nr. 172364'. The words and numbers list the way he saw himself with the way in which he had been seen. They also speak of the way suffering can change the very nature of self-perception rather than a temporary infliction.

Language's missing subject is uncomfortably close to Heidegger's claim that language is not the expression, nor the activity of the human being. 'Die Sprache ist in ihrem Wesen weder Ausdruck, noch eine Betätigung des Menschen. Die Sprache spricht'.²⁶⁴ The undermining of the solidity of the difference between the person speaking and the result of the act of speech marks the line between the understanding of language as a means of creating a relationship and seeing language as a thing of its own. The isolation of language as a topic removes its social and territorial dimension. This clearly affects the use of language as a form of *Heimat*, in which everyday relationships are crucial, whilst leading to a growing discrepancy between the theoretical analysis of language and its practical usage. The gap between external events and internal thoughts was the danger that Safranski perceived in Heidegger's philosophy: 'Weit und immer weiter öffnet sich bei Heidegger die Schere zwischen dem Denken und dem äußeren Geschehen'.²⁶⁵

If it is language that speaks, what does this tell us of the subject and its sense of responsibility? Language cannot be reduced to a medium for communication, but if it is said to be the main agent doing the talking what does this say about the nature of the subject?

In 'Die Sprache' Heidegger had already stipulated this basis: 'Der Sprache nachdenken verlangt somit, daß wir auf das Sprechen der Sprache eingehen, um bei der Sprache, d.h. in *ihrem* Sprechen, nicht in unserem, den Aufenthalt zu nehmen'.²⁶⁶ This *ihrem* is not further questioned. What does it mean to personify language and to speak of *its*, or rather *her* speech? If this is not a metaphor, it is at least the kind of change of perception which is very close to the shift that occurs in a metaphor. It is the same kind of shift as when one refers to molecules 'needing' or 'wanting' to move or divide. Further reversing the normal understanding of the way a subject relates to its object, Heidegger remarks that the word itself is where the relationship between the thing and its existence is contained: 'Das Wort selber ist das Verhältnis, das jeweils in sich das Ding so einbehält, daß es ein Ding "ist"'.²⁶⁷ The nature of

²⁶⁴ Martin Heidegger, 'Die Sprache' in *Unterwegs zur Sprache*, p. 19.

²⁶⁵ Rüdiger Safranski, p. 367.

²⁶⁶ Martin Heidegger, 'Die Sprache' in *Unterwegs zur Sprache*, p. 12.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

the relationship of the word to its user and to the one who hears it does not concern Heidegger. He is more interested in the internal system of how the word functions, on its own, as if it had become independent. This gradual isolation from thought to the reality in the 'real world' led to a system which was coherent within itself, but not in fruitful dialogue with the events around him. Perhaps it was attractive precisely because it was sealed off.

If no longer seen in its function of carrying a message from one person to another, or a way of two people coming into dialogue, language becomes an internal network of relationships in which Heidegger's *Heimat* is lodged. It is a different starting point than that of finding one's *Heimat* as a form of security in a human context. It uses a human function for a human need whilst excluding the human being as the most important figure in the constellation. In Heidegger's perception the poet becomes language's servant, thus serving it best when least visible. Although many poets might say this about the art of writing, in the question of how language is a home this view puts the poet into the background despite the very centrality of the subject in the concept of home.

Concentrating on language's language, instead of on the speaker and the listener, means that the traditional elements of *Heimat* are ignored. Here the question of existence and essence, as had been so central to Husserl's thinking and to that of the whole phenomenological movement, divides the interpretation of *Sprache als Heimat* between one where the *Heimat* is for Being itself and the *Heimat* which provides security for a relationship with another human being. This influences the reasons for writing, the understanding of *Heimat*, and the views on how the creative act can help endure extreme suffering. Martin Buber saw this separation of language from its users as deceptive: 'Jeder Versuch, den präsenten Bestand einer Sprache als einen von ihren jeweiligen Sprechern abgelösten Zusammenhang zulänglich zu erfassen und zu erstellen, muß in die Irre führen'.²⁶⁸ To err in one's understanding of language was for Buber a mistake rather than an intellectual or a philosophical option.

Some of Heidegger's initial questions about language were about the subject involved in expressions such as 'es blitzt'. He asked about the nature of the 'es'. By doing so he was able to form an 'es'-world in which the primary concern was neither the 'Ich' nor the 'Du'. In this 'es'-world there was no personal answer that needed to be given to the suffering of those around him at the time of his writing. By seeming to give objects a language of their own he was able to remove the urgency of the answer that an individual must give to immediate personal and political questions. In the phrases 'die Sprache spricht', 'es weltet' or 'es blitzt' the focus is on the nature of language, its being, the way it operates. Justified as it may be to

²⁶⁸ Martin Buber, *Logos: Zwei Reden*, (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1962), p. 7-8.

shift the basis and ask a new question about language's internal operating functions, it isolates the relationship between the person and reality which would have a direct influence on everyday living. His exclusion of the subject in these cases resulted in the opposite of what the Bukovina poets achieved, although some of the mechanics look the same, for instance when the poet intentionally omitted the subject.

The aim of Heidegger's three lectures in 'Der Weg zur Sprache' was to come into direct contact with language: 'Mit der Sprache eine Erfahrung machen'.²⁶⁹ After stating the intention of the lectures, Heidegger observes that language itself hardly ever comes to express itself: 'Allein, wann immer und wie immer wir eine Sprache sprechen, die Sprache selber kommt dabei gerade nie zum Wort'.²⁷⁰ His approach is to bring forth the hidden identity of language by 'letting it speak'. This apparent revelation veils many of the other functions of language and the person producing or receiving it. Language begins to be a subject of its own, also having a will of its own. This shift in perception occurs without it ever being made explicit and for the purposes of this study that hidden transfer is crucial for the understanding of why Heidegger's phrases were cherished as something other than what he himself had intended.

Using Stefan George's poem 'Das Wort', Heidegger remarks that the existence of things depends on their name. Heidegger changes George's 'Kein Ding sei wo das wort gebricht' into 'Kein Ding *ist*, wo das Wort, d.h. der Name fehlt'.²⁷¹ This seems to be in accordance with Judao-Christian theology of creation but in fact it ignores the One who gives the name. The name-giver is neither mentioned nor questioned. The subject is omitted. This then makes 'Sein' dependent on words. It makes the words become the containers for the existence of things. The difference between an absent name ('der Name fehlt') and a broken word (das wort gebricht) is significant. The broken word still has the chance of recovery, whereas claiming that a thing is absent when it has no name gives language a creative power without a creator. Still using the poem, Heidegger concludes: 'Das Sein von jeglichem, was ist, wohnt im Wort. Daher gilt der Satz: Die Sprache ist das Haus des Seins'.²⁷² With the logic that comes from only looking at language's own language it seems like a reasonable conclusion. But the angle has changed. There is no longer A (speaker) to B (listener) through C (language) there is only the C, as if A and B were no longer relevant, as if C could be detached from A and B. This detachment of a certain part of the linguistic process serves to illuminate particular aspects of language and this was Heidegger's achievement. It focused on the inner logic of words, not on their users.

²⁶⁹ Heidegger, *Unterwegs zur Sprache*, (Stuttgart: Günther Neske, 2001, 12th edn), p. 159.

²⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 161.

²⁷¹ Ibid. p. 164.

²⁷² Ibid. p. 166.

Theodor Adorno, when considering the nature of Heidegger's *Sein*, summarises: 'bleibt doch das Heideggersche Sein, dem schliesslich allerhand Tathandlungen zugeschrieben waren, ein subjektloses Subjekt'.²⁷³ When juxtaposing the philosophical premises of a 'subjectless' *Sein* with the lives and works of the Bukovina poets the main difference that comes through is precisely that of the contents of the subject, as an acting person. The physicality of the subject is the point at which belonging and language can take on meaning which is also tangible, which, particularly after the expulsions from homes and the enforced silencing of the free use of words, was a vital component of *Sprache als Heimat*. The linguistic form of the subject is derived from Heidegger's own redefining of being.

When analysing Heidegger's 'Sein' Stephan Strasser stresses that: 'Das Sein, so könnte man sagen, setzt der Formung, Beseelung und Sinngebung zähen Widerstand entgegen'.²⁷⁴ The bodily presence of the subject or its absence is therefore the critical point in the different versions of the meaning of language and home.

The following poem by Celan seems to confirm the impression of a lost subject, of words becoming more of a theme than the one using them. In it the 'thou' fights for existence, but does not quite manage to come through.²⁷⁵

Stumme Herbstgerüche. Die
Sternblume, ungeknickt, ging
zwischen Heimat und Abgrund durch
dein Gedächtnis.

Eine fremde Verlorenheit war
gestalthaft zugegen, du hättest
beinah
gelebt.

Celan illustrates the space between the words in which the subject falls through. The muteness of the smells and of the stellate flower represents the impossibility of cognitive communication. Nature is only a reminder of loss. It is only the flower itself which marks the *Heimat* and abyss in the memory of the one being addressed, so that in itself the flower seems more of a subject than the 'du' in line six. The flower seems to incorporate the loss. The double distance between subject and environment comes through in the last stanza. 'Eine fremde Verlorenheit' and the nature of the 'du' almost being able to find existence makes the subject retreat into the farthest layer of perspective. The nature of the loss is uncertain, as is

²⁷³ Theodor W. Adorno, *Jargon der Eigentlichkeit, Zur deutschen Ideologie*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1964), p. 98.

²⁷⁴ Stephan Strasser, *Jenseits von Sein und Zeit*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), p. 227.

²⁷⁵ Paul Celan, 'Stumme Herbstgerüche', *Gedichte I*, p. 223.

the nature of the existence of the one addressed. The 'ungeknickt' of the second line is somewhere between Stefan George's 'broken word' and Heidegger's 'missing name'. Here it is the flower, whose stem is unbroken, which becomes the carrier of a foreign loss. Nature becomes the reference point, as the only sure element in the poem is the 'Sternblume, ungeknickt' and yet although it becomes the shape of a foreign loss, it is not reliable. It too points to an absence. Not being able to pin down the past, nor the existence of the 'du' makes the absence in the poem become more of a subject than any one thing or person.

The next section will provide an attempt to see how the subject was re-established for those who continued to write after the Holocaust and who saw language as a means of reforming patterns of belonging.

Part 3: Reconstructing

The need for metaphors

Filling the space left behind by loss became an intense occupation for Rosenkranz from the earliest stages of his life. After the separations from his parents in childhood, he endured those from his wife as an adult, from friends and family during the Holocaust, and then from civilisation as such in Siberia. Writing, in itself a symbolic transfer from thought and emotions to words, came to represent the experience of his loss.

The letters from the New York Leo Baeck collection show the intense correspondence between Anna and Moses living in Susceava and Bucharest in the 1930s, each having had to rent single rooms and not daring to leave the city in which they were working for fear of not finding employment elsewhere. By 1940 the situation was drastic: 'All meine Bekannte sind schon weggerissen worden'.²⁷⁶ The ensuing losses were not later named in detail and there are no letters between 1940 and 1944, although there are numerous poems from those years.

In her article on exile in literature, Elisabeth Bronfen sees writing as the act which constitutes the creation of a new reality, which may be the case for any writing, but which is particularly necessary for the writer who has experienced severe degrees of loss.

Für jede Form der Repräsentation kann festgestellt werden, daß sie nicht nur eine abwesende Realität wieder präsent macht, sondern die Realität des Abwesenden, des Bezeichneten überhaupt erst als Realität konstituiert.²⁷⁷ The act of writing itself externalises that which had been made into an inner reality. 'Die Narration des Exilierten kann gesehen werden wie eine Narbe, die die Schnittstelle zwischen Verwundung und Heilung nicht nur vermittelt, sondern regelrecht markiert.'²⁷⁸

Bronfen defines exile as 'die erzwungene wie auch die freiwillige gewählte Trennung eines Menschen von dem ihm vertrauten natürlichen Ort, und d.h. von seiner Familie, seiner Vergangenheit, seinem Erbe, von seinem gesellschaftlichen Kontext und seiner kulturellen Sprache, womit die Muttersprache bzw. im übertragenen Sinne die angeeigneten kulturellen Regeln und Bräuche gemeint sein können'. In this case Rosenkranz can be said to have spent his life in exile and writing can be seen as the way he constituted reality.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Moses Rosenkranz, 2.1.1940, Moses Rosenkranz collection, letter to Anna. AR 25087, Reel 1, frame 256 Leo Baeck Institute New York.

²⁷⁷ Elisabeth Bronfen, *Exil in der Literatur: Zwischen Metapher und Realität*, (Berlin: Arcadia 28, Walter de Gruyter & co. 1993), p. 168.

²⁷⁸ Elisabeth Bronfen, p. 170.

²⁷⁹ Elisabeth Bronfen, p. 170.

Rosenkranz's verse marks the line between the wound and its healing in poetry, making it possible for him to achieve a personal lament for the events he witnessed. In the following poem his reaction to the fate of his people can be seen as a personal tribute marking his own effort to relate to the memory of the Holocaust.²⁸⁰

Klage

So Leichen weiß
war kein Schnee wie die Not
kein Ofen so heiß
mein Volk wie dein Tod

Flogst heißer als Brand
stobst bleicher als Schnee
o Wolke von Weh
mein Volk überm Land

Kamst nimmer herab
wo soll ich hinknien
ist oben dein Grab
in den Wolken die fliehn

The abstract nouns 'Not' and 'Tod' are given material properties: colours, textures, temperatures, yet because of the factual realities of snow and ovens, these do not figure here as metaphors, but rather as symbols for the whole, as synecdoches. The whole of the second stanza strives forward to the word 'Weh', the verbs at the beginning of the lines assisting the image of the cloud's movement above the land. The cloud here contains the ashes of the dead whereas in the Old Testament the cloud was where God showed Himself to Moses (Exodus 24, 15-18). This transferral from the cloud as a location of God's presence to it as a place containing the ashes of the Jewish people indicates the dimension of the catastrophe of the Holocaust in the natural world, where the order of the environment itself was reversed. Even the lyrical subject's instinct to kneel is refuted by the fact that there is no grave at which to do so. The contrast between high and low, between hot and cold, emphasises the complete reversal of logic. The conscious choice of poetic devices of the rhymes, of the antitheses of 'Schnee' and 'Brand' and the final contrast of the permanence of the poem itself with the fleetingness of the clouds give rise to a personal lament which can be seen as the representation of that which had been lost and the re-instatement of order, albeit poetic and not historical. The poem provides a text where respect for the dead can be expressed, a literary Kaddish.

²⁸⁰ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Klage', *Im Untergang*, p. 88. Dated 1944-45 in the Moses Rosenkranz Collection, AR 25087, Reel 3, frame 840, Leo Baeck Institute New York.

Ausländer describes the restructuring process as a shift in behaviour, where trauma is transferred into another reality:

Der unerträglichen Realität gegenüber gab es zwei Verhaltensweisen:
entweder man gab sich der Verzweiflung preis, oder man übersiedelte in
eine andere Wirklichkeit, die geistige. Wir zum Tode verurteilten Juden
waren unsagbar trostbedürftig. Und während wir den Tod erwarteten,
wohnten manche von uns in Traumworten – unser traumatisches Heim in
der Heimatlosigkeit.²⁸¹

Coming from the Greek word for 'wound', the 'trauma' in this case is transferred to the 'Traum' (dream), thus capturing the precise moment when the literal becomes metaphorical, when suffering takes on a visual image in the mind. The dream takes over to create a mental capsule where the trauma is stored. This process of creating dream-words so as to have a home within homelessness uncovers the mechanism of the transition from the passive endurance of pain to the active and creative work of transforming it into a literary product. The physical qualities of *Heimat* shift to become an emotional state of feeling that one belongs to particular words, or a language. The loss of the elements which had constituted a home led to a transfer from the tangible (the house, people and land) to the inner assets that those had provided. The literal and the metaphorical begin to blur. The contours faded partly because the war removed the tangible elements of *Heimat*, and partly because even if any of them had remained, the loss endured by the writers made even those remnants seem like a pale version of any sense of belonging they had had before. Ausländer's observation highlights the psychological effect of the 'dream words' as a form of projection. In 'Fäden in Nichts gespannt' Ausländer uses cloth as the metaphor for her people's suffering and how it was remembered.²⁸²

Fäden ins Nichts gespannt: wir liegen wund
verwoben in das Material der Qual,
ein Muster lückenlos auf grauem Grund
wie es ein schwarzer Wille anbefahl.

Das Rot, das Blau, Orange, das Grün versagt.
Zäh fügt sich Zug um Zug ins Bild der Schmach
und wenn ein Faden sich zu röten wagt,
wird doppelt dunkel unser Ungemach.

So sorgt die vielgeübte Henkershand

²⁸¹ Rose Ausländer, 'Alles kann Motiv sein' in *Rose Ausländer, Aschensommer: Ausgewählte Gedichte*, (Munich: dtv 1978), p. 212.

²⁸² Rose Ausländer: 'Fäden ins Nichts gespannt', in *Fäden ins Nichts gespannt*, p. 93.

für einen starken Stoff, aus Gram gewebt,
ein Kleid, dem jeder Körper widerstrebt.

Und der einst Bruder schien, steht abgewandt
und trägt das Zerrbild der verruchten Zeit
in seinem Blick der Unbekümmertheit.

Written between 1942 and 1944, this sonnet begins with the image of suffering as a cloth into which people are woven. The 'Stoff' is woven out of grief, resulting in a dress that no one wants to wear. The metaphor of cloth for suffering has biblical echoes, where tearing clothes was an act that expressed sorrow: 'rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God' (Joel, 2: 13) and is also an image used in Greek mythology, where Penelope weaves and un-weaves her father-in-law's shroud so as to avoid having to choose between her many suitors. In Ausländer's poem the metaphor of cloth is formed with attention to its texture, colour and pattern. The hand of the weaver is then death itself, the 'schwarzer Wille' in line four and the 'vielgeübte Henkershand' in line nine. The morbid logic within the insanity of the programmed destruction of the Jewish people is alluded to in the poem by describing the threads as being attached, yet to nothing. Pain seems at least to be 'verwoben in das Material der Qual', with some sense of a shared fate in agony, only for the threads to be later pulled out in the last three lines by one who had been there but refuses to acknowledge the common suffering of his people. The names of colours in line five is immediately contradicted by the factual 'versagt', the failure being both of the possibility of beauty and of language's power to describe it. The 'Zug' in line six can refer to the features of the 'Bild der Schmach', also implying the action of pulling one thread after another and also evoking the realities of the trains transporting Jews to their deaths or to the image of one. The repetition of the word contributes to the sense of endlessness that the humiliation process entailed. The colours referred to at the beginning are grey and black, with red only being a menacing presence in the second stanza. When one thread begins turning red, as a sign of being different, it is an immediate threat, implying the shedding of blood in line eight, or the helplessness of the one witnessing someone else's suffering. The metaphor then intensifies in line ten: 'ein starker Stoff aus Gram gewebt'. Because Jews were forced to wear the yellow star, clothing was the very symbol of being outcast. Thus, in Ausländer's poem, that sign becomes one encompassing the whole condition of Jewish suffering. Although the title of the poem is 'Fäden ins Nichts gespannt' the poem itself marks a line between pain and healing, revealing where memory is transferred into an image which can help to store the suffering.

By observing the mechanisms of metaphors in general it is possible to arrive at a clearer understanding of what *Sprache als Heimat* can imply if seen as a figure of speech, rather than attempting to analyse its literal meaning.

The most basic definition of metaphor is the shift of meaning that occurs between the literal and the new image which carries some of the properties of the literal meaning. Richard Moran spells out this basic transfer from the literal to the figurative:

If we think of the words of a metaphorical expression as undergoing a 'meaning-shift' of some kind, it will have to involve a difference of meaning very different from that involved in ordinary ambiguity. For when an expression is interpreted metaphorically, the first interpretation (the literal one) is not cancelled or removed from consideration. The literal meaning of 'vulture' is not dispensable when we interpret it metaphorically in its application to some friend or relation. The literal meaning must be known to both the speaker and the audience for the metaphorical point of the epithet to be made.²⁸³

If the literal meanings of *Sprache* and *Heimat* are so manifold, there is little chance of tracing one exact route of transition from literal to metaphorical. This, however, opens up a spectrum of different functions that the metaphor can provide. The metaphor can work as an image which holds more emotional than logical weight. An example of this mixture of the literal and the metaphorical is an extract in a letter that Moses Rosenkranz wrote in 1940 to Anna, asking her to become his wife. A few lines after proposing to her, he writes about his poetry in the following manner: 'In den nächsten Tagen will ich mich auch unlöslich an das Wort binden und brenne schon darauf, mit der Umschrift meiner Dichtungen fertig zu sein'.²⁸⁴ The two meanings of 'sich binden' to a person and to a task become equally important in Rosenkranz's life. In both cases the binding can be seen as a metaphor, although the first sense of binding oneself to another person is normally understood as being more literal than the second use of the word as a way of committing oneself to a task. The binding process represents his commitment to both the personal and the professional paths that he had chosen.

The process set in motion by the metaphor activates a new perspective on everyday life. 'Denn gerade wenn lyrische Metaphern eine rein logische, informative Verständigung

²⁸³ Richard Moran, 'Metaphor' in *A Companion to the philosophy of Language*, ed. by Bob Hale and Crispin Wright, (London: Blackwell, 1997), p. 252.

²⁸⁴ Moses Rosenkranz collection, letter to Anna Rosenkranz, 15 May 1940, AR 25087, Reel 1, frame 399, Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

verhindern, fordern sie den Leser heraus, in jeweils anderen Konstellationen sprachliche, logisch-gedankliche, imaginative und emotionale Prozesse zu aktivieren'.²⁸⁵

Seeing metaphors as a process is the way that Gemma Corradi Fiumara chose to tackle the issue in her study. Her work insists on the mixing of the different levels of daily life and linguistic reality. This would lead to an understanding of metaphors generally and of *Sprache als Heimat* in particular as evolving concepts: 'another reason why theories or definitions of metaphor are ultimately inadequate is probably linked to their resistance to the idea that metaphor is primarily a process'.²⁸⁶ The metaphor of *Sprache als Heimat* can be seen as a process where both terms continue to evolve and take on new connotations. That the act of writing itself creates a metaphoric representation of the events described only helps to link into the language as being a form of home. Between metaphor and reality is the representation which must take on rhetorical devices in order to express itself: whether the short lines of rhyming verse in Rosenkranz's poems or the use of alliterations in his prose to construct the scene of past experiences: 'aber während sie die schwervölligen Vögel danach verächtlich an den Wassertrog stieß, legte sie mich sanft in die großen Pölster auf der Pritsche und flößte mir löffelweise Kräutertee ein'.²⁸⁷ The repetition of the 'v's and 'w's helps create the sound of the feathers of the birds being fed and chased away, whereas the longer vowels in 'sanft' and 'großen' provide the contrast between the aunt's harshness with the animals and her more gentle treatment of the Rosenkranz as a boy. The anecdote of his aunt feeding the birds on her farm is one illustration of the skills he used to reconstruct the memory in his writing.

A closer look at the way metaphors work allows one to see the difference between what happens linguistically and what happens in practical life. The dynamics of a metaphor can lay bare the various psychological and diachronic nuances of what occurs in a phrase such as *die Sprache als Heimat*. In order to locate this precise moment when the leap to the new image occurs I have chosen Ricœur's *La métaphore vive*, which traces the demarcation line between logic and experience.²⁸⁸ Ricœur pinpoints the coming together of the literal with the idea, where the poetic and the philosophical activity meet. The insight is one which sees the similar in two separate things and Ricœur is able to mark the instance between intuition and the effort needed for it to become legible for others:

Épiphore, on s'en souvient, est le terme d'Aristote: c'est la transposition,
le transfert en tant que tel, c'est-à-dire le procès unitif, la sorte

²⁸⁵ Katrin Kohl, 'Flaschenpost: Sprache als Metapher in der Lyrik des 20. Jahrhunderts' in *German Life and Letters* 60:3, (Oxford: Blackwell), July 2007, p. 329.

²⁸⁶ Gemma Corradi Fiumara, *The metaphoric process: Connections between language and life*, p. 6.

²⁸⁷ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 24.

²⁸⁸ Paul Ricœur, *La métaphore vive*, (Paris: seuil, 1975).

d'assimilation qui se produit entre idées étrangères, étrangères parce qu'éloignées. En tant que tel, ce procès unitif relève d'une aperception— d'un *insight* — qui est de l'ordre du *voir*. C'est cette aperception qu'Aristote désignait lorsqu'il disait: 'Bien métaphoriser, c'est voir — contempler, avoir le coup d'œil— pour le semblable'. L'épiphore est ce coup d'œil et ce coup de génie: l'inenseignable et l'imprenable.²⁸⁹

Grasping what is similar in two very different things is to extract the traits common to both and to show the link. 'Bien métaphoriser, c'est voir'. This glimpse of the similarity between language and homes was the origin of the entire concept which provided meaning for those who had lost their homes. Heidegger's genius was to bring the similarities of language and *Heimat* together and thus highlight what they have in common. Normally metaphors use one very tangible thing to relate to an abstract idea. Here both words are abstract. Perhaps the knock-on effect of the *Sprache als Heimat* metaphor was the fact that not only did Heidegger recognise the joint content of the two, but that as soon as he had formulated it, poets and other philosophers also immediately recognised a certain truth within it. This recognition of the similar nature of these two elements was bound to have its strongest resonance in poetry, which works with metaphor more intensively than other literary forms. The novelist is not as concerned with still-lives as with the dynamics of human relationships. Poetry concentrates the nature of what is seen or felt and transforms it by transferring imagery from one field to another. His images of the 'verbal icon' and the representational model give a way of following the processes involved in trying to discern how much of the metaphor is an illusion and how much just a clever turn of phrase.

'Apercevoir, contempler, voir le semblable, tel est, chez le poète bien sûr, mais chez le philosophe aussi, le coup de génie de la métaphore qui joindra la poétique à l'ontologie'.²⁹⁰ An example of this coming together of the poetic and the ontological is Rosenkranz's short poem 'Frage': Lahmt keiner von uns beiden,/ was du auch auferlegst -- / gibst du die Kraft, zu leiden,/ weil du die Wunden schlägst?²⁹¹ In this short address to God or destiny, or whichever power is responsible for the course of history, the poetic voice joins that of the philosopher to question the nature of suffering. The absurdity of pain is given shape in the four lines of rhyming questions. The seemingly trivial 'auch' in fact contains the whole range of actual hardships that the speaker has endured.

In Ricœur's first step of the 'épiphore' the main activity is seeing and perceiving. Then comes the work of presenting what has been seen in a comprehensible way:

²⁸⁹ Paul Ricœur, 'Sixième étude: Le travail de la ressemblance' in *La métaphore vive*, p. 248.

²⁹⁰ Paul Ricœur, *La métaphore vive*, p. 40.

²⁹¹ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Frage', *Visionen*, p. 26.

Mais il n'y a pas d'épiphere sans diaphore, pas d'intuition sans construction. En effet, le procès intuitif, rapprochant les choses éloignées, enveloppe un moment irréductiblement discursif; le même Aristote qui 'contemplant le semblable' est aussi le théoréticien de la métaphore proportionnelle où la ressemblance est plus construite que vue.²⁹²

The passage from the intuition to the construction is what is at stake when determining how a metaphor can help in practical life. From the vision to the discursive moment of writing there is the personal will to translate what the individual has seen into something that a community of readers can see. The effort of the moment of bringing two disparate things together occurs when the choice is made to see how they shed light on each other. The person choosing to make the effort of equating language with *Heimat* is accepting the task of reconstructing meaning from two different fields of thought and bringing them together.

The moment of construction occurs on two levels in the poetry from the Bukovina: both in the poems themselves and also in the lives of the poets there is a transition from what is perceived to what is constructed: 'Il n'y a donc aucune contradiction à rendre compte de la métaphore successivement dans le langage de l'aperception, c'est-à-dire de la vision, et dans celui de la construction'.²⁹³ What Ricœur describes as being the construction within the metaphor is parallel to the larger experience of the poet trying to construct a personal interpretation of what he has seen. In his autobiography Rosenkranz recalls the shock of discovering an Austrian soldier who had committed suicide in a cellar: 'Um meinen Schmerz darüber zu lindern, schrieb ich nach diesem Anblick die folgenden Worte: Ich kann nicht die Sprachen der Leute, / aber recht gut ihre Leiden. / Dir, Vater, laß mich sie schreiben: / Gabst Du dazu doch die Hand mir. / Sehr fürchten sie voreinander, / und was ihn im Ebenbild ängstigt, / so mancher machts aus sich selber: / Den blicklosen leblosen Leichmann./ Von Dir herniedergesendet, / empfinde ich Angst nicht vor ihnen; / aber der Last ihrer Schmerzen / fühl ich in mir keine Muskeln. / So gib mir das Wort, mir zu helfen; / denn was ich sage, wird leichter: / Fast mühelos heb ich den Toten / zu Dir nun auf diesem Blatt.'²⁹⁴

This poem locates the exact moment of deciding to render the intensity of the experience into verse. The beginning marks the doubt of the lyrical subject's linguistic ability to communicate, instantly followed by the inner solidarity that the poetic voice experiences with the dead soldier's sufferings. From that point onwards the poet sees it as his duty to use the written word to speak with the Father, who has called him to do so. The piece of paper then becomes a form of altar on which the dead can be brought to the Father and the prayer 'Gib

²⁹² Paul Ricœur, *La métaphore vive*, p. 248.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ *Kindheit*, p. 94.

mir das Wort' transforms the reaction of the one who had witnessed the scene to a textual rendering of the event, pinpointing the transition from perception to construction.

In the chapter entitled 'Icône et image' Ricœur presents the theory that the metaphor is where the semantic and the psychological meet. It is where logic and experience meet: 'la liaison entre un moment logique et un moment sensible'.²⁹⁵ This helps us find the moment in which meaning and personal experience come together: 'le point où, dans le langage même, sens et sensible s'articulent'.²⁹⁶ The psychological dimension of *Heimat*, with all its connotations of safety and protection became embedded in the logical and affective connotations of *Sprache*. This can be the reason for the success of the metaphor being looked at here.

²⁹⁵ Ricœur, p. 264.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

Sprache als Heimat as a metaphor

This mental procedure of transferring pain into representations of it, whether in dreams, in prose or in poetry occurs in the same way with the concept of *Sprache als Heimat*. In the words *Sprache* and *Heimat* there is much potential for metaphoric reading, allowing for a no-man's land where the two words can meet and mingle. *Heimat* is lifted out of its nationalistic murkiness and made clear and noble again by its proximity to the word *Sprache*. The word *Sprache* has managed to remain intellectually and morally neutral as a concept and within this metaphor it can be stretched to mean several forms of language. Yet the affective side of metaphoric construction, which has been relegated to the domain of psychology and is seldom that of literary or linguistic research, also plays an important part in the construction of a new reality. There is an inherent ambiguity already within the terms *Sprache* and *Heimat* which sets them aside from the more common type of metaphor. The difficulty is precisely of there not being a clear literal meaning to interpret from either the word *Sprache* or *Heimat*. Each word can have a variety of meanings, which can then be transferred into a metaphor. This increases the ambiguity in both the literal and the metaphorical.

In the last two decades of the twentieth century two main approaches to metaphors could be distinguished: that which insists on the clarity of distinction, being therefore wary of metaphors and those who enjoy the power of new imagery to confound old categories of thought. In his introduction to *Denken in Metaphern*, Georg Schöffel addresses this clash:

Im Streit der Metapher lebt etwas vom antiken Kampf zwischen Philosophie und Rhetorik fort. Die Gegner der Metapher sind meist dem Ideal einer Sprache verpflichtet, die sich klarer und distinkter Begriffe bedient.[...] Umgekehrt ist den Freunden die Metapher das Element, das sich nicht fügen will. Die Metapher rüttelt an den festgefügteten Kategoriensystemen, weil sie sich um Grenzen nicht schert.²⁹⁷

This conflict between philosophy and rhetoric will be examined more closely in the following chapter in which Améry's objections to the way Heidegger used language will be explored. Heidegger's mixture of the two was so attractive that what emerged was a variety of contradicting interpretations of his texts. George Guțu's work *Sprache ist das Haus des Seins* does not refer specifically to Heidegger's understanding of the phrase; instead it is a collection of essays on various aspects of German and Romanian linguistics.²⁹⁸ Nor does

²⁹⁷ Georg Schöffel, *Denken in Metaphern: zur Logik sprachlichen Bilder*, (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1987), p. 2.

²⁹⁸ George Guțu (ed.), *Die Sprache ist das Haus des Seins: sprachwissenschaftliche Aufsätze*, (Bucharest: Paideia, 1998).

Claudia Beil's study of the lives of Nelly Sachs and Rose Ausländer *Sprache als Heimat* deal with Heidegger's understanding of 'Sein'.²⁹⁹ It is the case with much of Heidegger's writing that the rhetoric he used became more popular than his philosophical distinctions. In this way he constituted a reality, but not necessarily the one he had intended. Without knowing what Heidegger himself meant by certain expressions, many readers used them as formulae for their own way of perceiving the use of language. This is due to the emotional resonance that they provided. As Katrin Kohl observes, in philosophy language and rhetoric interact in such a way as to explore areas beyond the purely rational:

Die Aufwertung der Sprache und der Rhetorik in der Philosophie interagiert im 20. Jahrhundert – so in unterschiedlicher Ausprägung bei Wittgenstein, Heidegger oder Gadamer – mit poetischen und poetologischen Erkundungen der Möglichkeiten von Sprache jenseits logischer Stabilität. Die Metapher spielt dabei eine herausragende Rolle, denn durch sie erhält der Bezug zwischen dem immateriellen Denken, Imaginieren, Fühlen einerseits und den Lauten und Schriftzeichen der Sprache andererseits physisch vorstellbare, sprachlich artikulierbare Gestalt.³⁰⁰

This is an aspect of writing which is extremely relevant to the Bukovina authors, because it insists on that which is beyond 'logical stability'. The recourse to the emotional value of verse that concentrates on the personal coming to terms with the Holocaust is a form of metaphoric transformation which is a central part of *Sprache als Heimat*.

In the term *Sprache als Heimat* the reference point of both words must be called into question. Whose language, whose *Heimat*? Both terms assume a hidden subject and it is only within the 'diaphore' from the literal to the metaphorical that the subject comes to the fore. This is when the intuition is made visible and becomes something that can be shared by others. At this stage something occurs which is of greater importance than the mere creation of metaphor. In the effort of construction the balance between subject and object is re-installed. This is where the personal element of the subject is introduced, transporting the question of what happens within the metaphor to that of what the metaphor provides for the one using it. It is at the moment of choosing to write that the subject makes its entry. Lévinas expresses this as the instant in which the individual is revealed:

Au milieu de l'écoulement anonyme de l'existence, il y a arrêt et position.
L'effort est l'accomplissement même de l'instant. Par là nous arrivons à

²⁹⁹ Claudia Beil, *Die Sprache als Heimat: jüdische Tradition und Exilerfahrung in der Lyrik von Nelly Sachs und Rose Ausländer*, (Munich: Tuduv Studie, 1991).

³⁰⁰ Katrin Kohl, 'Flaschenpost: Sprache als Metapher in der Lyrik des 20. Jahrhunderts' in *German Life and Letters* 60:3, (Oxford: Blackwell), July 2007, p. 333.

situer l'activité dans l'existence de l'homme. [...] Agir, c'est assumer un présent. Ce qui ne revient pas à répéter que le présent c'est l'actuel, mais que le présent est, dans le bruissement anonyme de l'existence, l'apparition d'un sujet qui est aux prises avec cette existence, qui est en relation avec elle, qui l'assume. L'acte est cette assumption. Par là l'acte est essentiellement assujettissement et servitude; mais d'autre part la première manifestation ou la constitution même de l'existant, d'un *quelqu'un* qui est.³⁰¹

Lévinas re-establishes the subject in the act. He pins down the moment when the subject is revealed. The activity of the effort made in the transfer is when the subject becomes visible. This is a general thesis which applies to the inner mechanisms of writing when trying to restore order and logic from the ruins of loss. In the act of writing, the person becomes the subject again, not in language as such, but in the moment when a person chooses to use it. The hidden subject in both *Sprache* and in *Heimat* has led to many ways of interpreting the phrase. From a phenomenological standpoint, the *Sprache* and the *Heimat* themselves are the subject. Otherwise the one using the language or building the home is the main interest. The activity itself of choosing to use language is the watershed between anonymity and individuality. The importance given to the freedom of the act makes it a moment which marks the choices that determine the reference points for the writer. The activity (whether it be writing, building or something else) is a way of affirming identity, which can allow a person to transform exterior reality and by doing so define his or her own inner existence. Lévinas calls activity the moment when the present is taken by the horns and this is what the act of writing is for Rosenkranz and for the other Bukovina authors. It takes him out of an anonymous existence provides the opportunity of wider recognition. It marks the moment of his transfer from ideas to words and their imprint, from the immaterial to the material. It reinserts the finding of time, territory and community. This is indeed the case for any writer but the relevance to the Bukovina writers is the personal role that writing restored to them as individuals.

Fiumara's approach to the metaphoric process sides with that of Ricœur and Lévinas by taking the personal dimension more into account than the purely linguistic:

Intractable difficulties seem to arise from a philosophical tendency to privilege the representational function of language, disconnected from its listening and communicative role. With an outlook of self creation we may better scrutinize how much we depend on external agents for our own intellectual life: our metaphoric efforts are in fact meaningful to the extent that our constructions are met with adequate interpersonal interpretation.

³⁰¹ Emmanuel Lévinas, *De l'existence à l'existant*, (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1998), pp. 48-49.

The life of our metaphors depends, then, on interlocutors while at the same time it constitutes the core of our individual inner life.³⁰²

Fiumara's stance on the need for the 'interpersonal interpretation' is an attempt to see how the personal experiences of life can contribute to the discourse on metaphor and not vice versa.

This view contradicts Heidegger's understanding of language, as he found that it is language which dominates the user:

Der Mensch gebärdet sich, als sei *er* Bildner und Meister der Sprache, während *sie* doch die Herrin des Menschen bleibt. Vielleicht ist es vor allem anderen die vom Menschen betriebene Verkehrung *dieses* Herrschaftsverhältnisses, was sein Wesen in das Unheimische treibt.³⁰³

For Heidegger it is precisely this misunderstood relationship of a person not recognising that language is the master of the person which leads people to the 'unearthly', to the non-familiar. This dominion of language over the user is the unsettling view that Heidegger offers. His understanding of the relationship between the writer and language is that it is one of power: a 'Herrschaftsverhältnis'. In the power relationship between user and language the focus is not on language's potential to be of use, but rather on the way language conducts its user to the unknown. This is a radical contradiction to the image of language as a means of constructing a metaphoric structure of belonging.

Finally, in *Der Streit um die Metapher* Müller-Funk makes the important case that our understanding of language has changed from being a reflection of reality to being the constitutive element of the way in which we create the world: 'erscheint nun die Sprache nicht mehr als das Abbild, sondern als das kategorienlogische Konstitutionsprinzip des Wirklichen'.³⁰⁴ If language is no longer merely a reflection, but rather that which constitutes our understanding, then its role in being a refuge can also be understood as something which the individual creates, in which case home is something which is always becoming itself, a variation on the more familiar theme of home as a stable entity. Therefore language itself can be seen as metaphorical, constructing out of what has been perceived, translating the immaterial memory or insight into the material of the text, which for *Sprache als Heimat* would imply a dynamic nature of home.

³⁰² Gemma Corradi Fiumara, *The Metaphoric Process: Connections between Language and Life*, (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 139.

³⁰³ Martin Heidegger, 'Bauen wohnen denken' in *Bauen und Wohnen, Building and Dwelling*, p. 32.

³⁰⁴ Klaus Müller-Funk (ed.), *Der Streit um die Metapher: poetologische Texte von Nietzsche bis Handke*, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlicher Buchgesellschaft, 1998), p. 7.

Améry's objections to metaphors

Although metaphors can be useful for interpreting reality, they can also be very deceptive, as they can become images that hide the threats of daily existence. It is within this precarious balance between grief and hope that the dangers and the potential of the metaphor of *Sprache als Heimat* come together.

‘Die Sprache ist das Haus des Seins. In ihrer Behausung wohnt der Mensch. Die Denkenden und Dichtenden sind die Wächter dieser Behausung’.³⁰⁵ When confronted with these statements there is the danger of simplifying or rather distorting reality into ideas which do not pass the test of logical thought or material needs. In this chapter some of the difficulties that can arise from an extensive use of metaphor will be considered. It was Améry who best analysed the danger of sublimating art in the face of life-threatening danger. His refutation of Heidegger's concepts provides a useful contrast for the understanding of *Sprache als Heimat* in the context of the Bukovina.

Améry remarks that Heidegger never chose to use philosophical language in a scientific way. ‘An deren Stelle setzte er eine ganz spezifische, hinweisende, verschlüsselte, orphische Rede von höchster Suggestivkraft, eine metaphorische, die Grenzen gegen die Dichtung hin überschreitende Kunstsprache, von der Heidegger freilich glaubt, es sei die philosophische Sprache schlechthin’.³⁰⁶ The metaphorical language that seeps over the boundary of philosophy and enters that of poetic language makes it impervious to the test of logic.

Zwischen Heidegger und Denkern, die um sachhaltige Aussagen bemüht sind, solchen, die sich an die doppelte Wahrheitsprüfung von Sätzen durch empirische Verifizierung einerseits, logische Deduktion andererseits halten, gibt es keinerlei Verständigung, nichts war in diesem Sinne fruchtloser als der Versuch des großen Logikers Rudolf Carnap, der einmal einen Kernsatz Heideggers hernahm und ihn mit den Mitteln der Logistik auf sinnloses Gestammel reduzierte.³⁰⁷

Heidegger developed his own codes and style which made it difficult to contradict him by using logical means. This use of metaphors, where a meaning has an instinctive resonance can become one which is detached from other modalities of life. Heidegger's *Heimat* was one

³⁰⁵ Martin Heidegger, *Über den Humanismus*, (Bern: A. Francke, 1947), p. 53.

³⁰⁶ Jean Améry, ‘Sie blieben in Deutschland – Martin Heidegger’, *Zwischenwelt* December 2003, pp. 51-52; prepublication from *Jean Améry Werke*, volume 6, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 2004).

³⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 52.

where thinking itself was more important than practical life, as Axel Beelmann shows in his study on *Heimat* as a metaphor for 'Dasein' in Heidegger's early writing:

Am Ende der Bemühungen um Erhalt geeigneter Konditionen, die es gestatten, die Metapher der Heimat auch im übertragenen, intellektuellen Sinn durchzuhalten, steht das Ausweichen auf jenen "Weg", der mit Überschreiten der ontologischen Differenz den "Wirbel des Fragens" unterhält, dessen Unermüdlichkeit schließlich das gelebte Leben verschlingt.³⁰⁸

This effort to keep the *Heimat* metaphor up and flying was perhaps not so difficult for Heidegger as it was for Jean Améry and the poets from the Bukovina. Heidegger could avoid the practical hurdles, whereas Améry and the Bukovina poets had to concentrate on the effort to survive, and subsequently on the meaning of a life where so much had been lost.

A metaphor can become a creed of its own, or it can be one example of many fusions of the practical and the ideal. Among the escape routes from difficult reality was the intellectual activity that inspired so many groups in the 1920s and 30s in Vienna and Czernovitz. Living in Vienna, Améry only chose to see the consequences for him when it was too late. 'Die langsame Verwandlung der Heimat in ein gemütliches Feindesland war spürbar, so suchte mancher, der Sippesorgen hatte eine Heimatstatt im Geiste: dies war sein Fall in der Welt, die alles ist, war der Fall ist'.³⁰⁹ Améry refers to his own transition into the realm of the aesthetic and the intellectual paradise which in the end turned out to be another illusion that blinded him to the realpolitik of his country. The *Wiener Kreis* for him was the temptation of thinking that philosophy could be a refuge from the oncoming crisis of the National Socialist take-over. He continues his self-analysis: 'Der Ästhetik des Irrationalismus warst du eben entwichen und hattest dich auch schon verlaufen in die Ästhetik der Logik'.³¹⁰ Neither a trend in philosophy nor the seductions of an intellectual movement could explain the political phenomenon of Austria becoming an enemy country for him, and neither could protect him. The *Constantin Brunner Kreis* in Czernovitz also had the same effect of attracting many young people to discuss philosophy at a time when politics were threatening. Both were examples of the way in which literary activity failed to produce an accurate reading of the signs of the times, even though the philosopher Constantin Brunner himself had insisted on the need for the practice of one's philosophical convictions.

³⁰⁸ Axel Beelmann, *Heimat als Daseinsmetapher: Weltanschauliche Elemente im Denken des Theologiestudenten Martin Heidegger*, (Vienna: Passagen, 1994), p. 69.

³⁰⁹ Jean Améry, *Unmeisterliche Wanderjahre*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1971), p. 33.

³¹⁰ Améry, *ibid.* p. 38.

Another way of avoiding the signs of the times was religiosity: 'Denn es gibt ja so etwas wie mobile Heimat oder zumindest Heimatersatz. Das kann Religion sein, wie die jüdische'.³¹¹ The events, objects, encounters of everyday life are raised to a spiritual level and the temptation is to avoid personal action. When religion becomes a replacement for a personal response to one's situation, it often leads to the desire to escape from one's duty to oneself and others. This sublimation of the ordinary into religious language can become a refusal to obey the laws of current reality as such.

The writers from the Bukovina had experienced one degree of dispossession after another. The 'austrozentristisches Weltbild' that Améry and other Austrians had was a pale memory for them by the time of the Second World War.³¹² Yet there was nostalgia for a use of the German language that they associated with better times. The degree of loss and of danger was one that had been steadily increasing since 1919 and so for them the final calamity of the Holocaust was not as sudden as it was for writers such as Améry, whose experience of losing home had fewer historical layers than theirs. Nevertheless, Améry's essay 'Wieviel Heimat braucht der Mensch?' is in many ways an answer to Heidegger's essays such as 'Bauen, Denken und Wohnen' or 'Über den Humanismus'. Améry's approach was to illustrate in very practical terms the effects of losing home and he did so without a trace of sentimentality. His conclusion was that the less a person has a *Heimat* the more he or she needs one: 'Auf die Frage, wieviel Heimat der Mensch braucht, möchte ich sagen: um so mehr, je weniger davon er mit sich tragen kann'.³¹³ Améry implies that one can only really experience *Heimat* ex negativo, when one is in exile.³¹⁴ This was what the German speaking Jews of the Bukovina had felt as early as 1919 and the way language was a home for them then related to the way it had been in the past. The 'mobile *Heimat*' that the authors from Czernovitz had decided to carry with them was language at the end of both World Wars.

Améry's text gives a reference point for all the forced losses of land and language; he refuses to concentrate on the positive by-products of loss. First there is the irretrievable and only then and only sometimes the resourcefulness with which people create new ways of living. Améry's conclusion about loss was that if home had been lost, it was lost for good and could not be regained. His approach was to insist on the literal meanings of words.

For Améry there was no metaphorical world of ideas that would help, there was no virtual reality. One anecdote shows how this conflict between ideas and outer circumstances affected

³¹¹ Jean Améry, 'Wieviel Heimat braucht der Mensch' in *Jenseits von Schuld und Sühne*, (Stuttgart: Klett Cotta, 1980), p. 78.

³¹² W.G. Sebald, *Unheimliche Heimat*, 2nd edn., (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2003), p. 135.

³¹³ Jean Améry, 'Wieviel Heimat braucht der Mensch', p. 78.

³¹⁴ W.G. Sebald, p. 134.

him. In Auschwitz he had tried to have a discussion with an old professor from the Sorbonne who refused to enter into intellectual dialogue because that kind of exchange belonged to a world of which they were no longer a part and it made no sense to pretend it still existed. '[Er] glaubte ganz einfach nicht mehr an die Wirklichkeit der geistigen Welt, und er verweigerte sich einem intellektuellen Sprachspiel, das hier keinen sozialen Bezug mehr hatte'.³¹⁵ The 'Sprachspiel' at stake here is what happens in people's use of language to make a metaphor arise such as the one of language becoming a home. Améry's point was that literature was a source of comfort or inner escape only for a few. By no means was it generally of any use. Améry's experience and his loss of hope made him draw a line through the sublime. There was nothing left for him to idealise, neither language nor friendship. The lack of balance between the intellectual and the material world seems to have led to the impossibility of ever belonging to a social entity anymore. The refusal to buy into any form of creed or hope and the decision to remain exposed to the naked cruelty of existence sharpened his writing and deepened his despair.

The lesson Améry teaches is that one cannot claim the benefits of loss for another person. The danger of seeing poetry, religion, intellectual life of any sort as the main answer is that it can blind one to the political, material and moral imperatives. By writing, an author cannot succeed in 'overcoming' that which was lost or that which was endured. Writing can become a way of coming to terms with the loss but the physical damage remains and cannot be undone by psychological therapy through the use of words. They create something new, but they do not cancel out the past. What perhaps does occur is instinctive logo-therapy; by giving a meaning to the activity of writing the individual recovers the motivation for living.

Thus the inner, imagined departure from the familiar cannot be equated to the physical effects of a departure enforced by political factors and this difference is part of the zone between the objective and the subjective home. 'Home' used to mean where one came from and 'exile' meant being banished from that place, like Prospero in *The Tempest*, which is a very allegory of the creative power and its ability to create a new home. Yet even in *The Tempest* the faith in the power of books and of words to recreate worlds of their own is put to the test and found wanting. So in the case of a term such as 'language as home' there is the movement from the traditional understanding of a word to a metaphor which uses the words with varying degrees of literality. The trap of the metaphor of *Sprache als Heimat* is that it has a direct effect on the choices made in practical life. 'Viele haben die innere Heimat besungen und sind doch am

³¹⁵ Jean Améry, 'An der Grenzen des Geistes', in *Jenseits von Schuld und Sühne*, p. 27.

Heimweh nach der realen Heimat gestorben.’³¹⁶ Frühwald’s comment reflects the danger of the romantic notion of language as *Heimat*: the ‘innere *Heimat*’ of words can clash with the longing for the geographical location that the poet had to leave behind. It is within this tension between the inner realm of belonging and the outer bonds to a place and its people that the many hidden dangers of *Sprache als Heimat* lie. Contrary to what might be initially imagined as a home of language, the transferral from the practical realities to the artistic expression of them may involve serious pitfalls which need to be considered before making the claim that *Sprache* can really be equated to *Heimat*. The position of the individual within the *Sprache* and the *Heimat* will become crucial in the bridge between the text and the everyday experience.

³¹⁶ Frühwald, ‘Deutschland, bleiche Mutter’ in *Heimat: Neue Erkundungen eines alten Themas*, ed. by Horst Bienek (Vienna, Munich: Hanser, 1985), p. 39.

Re-instating the subject

The attempt to detect the nature of belonging within a text, which is not only being but well-being within the context of linguistic expression, has clearly been affected by the factors of disrupted time, by the unsayable and by the choice of form, each inflicted by the suffering caused by war, the Holocaust and the Gulags. Within the abysses of loss the role of the subject has been imperilled by both the altered self-perception of the writers and the way in which their environment perceived them. The parallel philosophical current of Heidegger's *Sprache als Heimat* and 'Die Sprache als Haus des Seins' as seen in its historical context raises questions about the practical, poetic and philosophical position of the subject.

In 'Die Sprache', the lecture given in 1950, Heidegger stipulates the need to let language do the speaking and to join language at the place where it dwells:

Der Sprache nachdenken verlangt somit, daß wir auf das Sprechen der Sprache eingehen, um bei der Sprache, d.h. in ihrem Sprechen, nicht in unserem, den Aufenthalt zu nehmen. Nur so gelangen wir in den Bereich, innerhalb dessen es glückt oder auch mißglückt, daß aus ihm die Sprache uns ihr Wesen zuspricht.³¹⁷

The focus here is on dwelling within language's speech. The border lines between subject and object are already blurred in this passage, leading to a shift of focus from the speaker to language itself. Heidegger's retreat from the use of literal language resulted in a highly personal and detached use of German which provided him with the necessary ambiguity to divert the attention from personal responsibility when it came to language and the way in which it was used. Safranski suggests that Heidegger refers to himself as a medium for language: 'Es wird nicht das Sein bedacht, sondern das Sein bemächtigt sich seiner und denkt durch ihn. Medialer Existenz'.³¹⁸ Seen in this way, there is a clear split between the person using the language that is to be a *Heimat* and language as an independent entity. In this new usage of grammar, where the subject becomes what had formerly been the object, it is no longer the human being and his or her use of language that is at stake, but rather language itself. The same will apply to Heidegger's use of the word *Sein*. His interest is in the nature of being rather than the human being.

Wenn es wahr ist, daß der Mensch den eigentlichen Aufenthalt seines Daseins in der Sprache hat, unabhängig davon, ob er es weiß oder nicht,

³¹⁷ Martin Heidegger, *Unterwegs zur Sprache*, 'Sprache', 12th edn., (Stuttgart: Günther Neske, 2001), p. 12.

³¹⁸ Rüdiger Safranski, p. 353.

dann wird eine Erfahrung, die wir mit der Sprache machen, uns im innersten Gefüge unseres Daseins anrühren.³¹⁹

Heidegger begins with the assumption that a person's existence has a dwelling place, that the dwelling place would be in language, and that a person's experience with language would affect the person in his or her utmost being, this then occurring in a way that the person might, or might not know about it. To have one's real dwelling space in language implies that language provides a place for existence. This would redefine one's understanding of both existence and language. These key words of language and existence open up the differences between the Rosenkranz's experience of words in poetry in their relationship to daily life and Heidegger's discoveries.

Heidegger insists on a more passive relationship to both language and experience than one may expect when approaching the question of how language and dwelling relate to each other. 'Die Rede von "machen" meint in dieser Wendung gerade nicht, daß wir die Erfahrung durch uns bewerkstelligen; machen heißt hier: durchmachen, erleiden, das uns Treffende empfangen, insofern wir uns ihm fügen'.³²⁰ The reversal of agent and receiver is crucial in this question, which begins by asking whose existence and whose language is at stake.

Heidegger wants the listeners of the lecture to be aware of 'unser Verhältnis zur Sprache'.³²¹ He claims that when we speak a language, language itself cannot speak: 'Allein, wann immer und wie immer wir eine Sprache sprechen, die Sprache selber kommt dabei gerade nie zum Wort'.³²² This original stance of his *Sprache als Heimat* has reversed the normal logic of grammar.

Comparing the development of Heidegger's thoughts with Lévinas's statements about the subject helps to trace the cracks in the surfaces of language and home. For Lévinas the face provides the first word and what is spoken is not so much an activity as the expression of self. The spoken word proceeds from the relationship established with the other merely because of the other's presence: 'Pour rechercher la vérité, j'ai déjà entretenu un rapport avec un visage qui peut se garantir soi-même, dont l'épiphanie, elle-même, est quelque sorte, parole d'honneur'.³²³ In this view the revelation of the other through the face is the first location of language, not the words used.

³¹⁹ Martin Heidegger, *Unterwegs zur Sprache*, p. 159.

³²⁰ *ibid.*

³²¹ *ibid.*

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 161.

³²³ Emmanuel Lévinas, *Totalité et Infini, Essai sur l'extériorité*, (Paris: Kluwer Academic/ Livre de Poche, 1987), p. 221.

Lévinas concentrates on the ethical position as the departure point in language: 'Le Dire précisément n'est pas un jeu. Antérieur aux systèmes linguistiques et aux chatoiements sémantiques – avant-propos des langues – il est proximité de l'un pour l'autre, la signifiante même de la signification'.³²⁴ The manifestation of being through the 'proximity of one to the other' is central to his understanding of the importance of the speaker, of the *Seiende*, rather than of the *Sein* itself. 'La responsabilité pour autrui est le lieu où se place le non-lieu de la subjectivité'.³²⁵ The very presence of the other makes me responsible for him or her. The ethical dimension in Lévinas sets the focus on the human being as the one using language. This difference becomes the main factor dividing the various interpretations of *Sprache als Heimat*. In *Totalité et Infini* Lévinas insists on the way the other person cannot be reduced to a set of factors, but rather the other's existence in itself is the place where ethics take on meaning. It awakens one to responsibility. This deeply humane dimension of the thinking of a philosopher whose family was killed during the Holocaust brings the role of language and of belonging into a new light.

The attempt to analyse language, home and the human being in an objective manner is to remove the instance where *Heimat* and language have their meeting point: in the individual person as a subject. Within the philosophy about the nature of language, Lévinas forcefully states that the attention must shift from isolated words to the presence of the one using them. This simple change of position has vital consequences for the result of the study of the meaning of *Sprache als Heimat*. The concentration on the 'I', with a material form, insists on the facticity of the subject. Whereas being itself is Heidegger's object of consideration, Lévinas stresses the actual form of the human being who takes on matter, not just the concept of being:

Je n'existe pas comme un esprit, comme un sourire ou un vent qui souffle, je ne suis pas sans responsabilité. Mon être se double d'un avoir: je suis encombré par moi-même. Et c'est cela, l'existence matérielle. Par conséquent, la matérialité n'exprime pas la chute contingente de l'esprit dans le tombeau ou la prison d'un corps. Elle accompagne – nécessairement – le surgissement du sujet, dans sa liberté d'existant.³²⁶

The insertion of the subject was Lévinas's contribution to the questions of the types of belonging. Paul Davies confirms that in Lévinas's thoughts there can be no generalities about language and belonging without recognising the person as subject:

³²⁴ Emmanuel Lévinas, *Autrement qu'être ou au-delà de l'essence*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), p. 17.

³²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 24.

³²⁶ Emmanuel Lévinas, *Le Temps et l'Autre*, p. 37.

Instead of losing the subject in and to language, Lévinas's account of subjectivity in *Otherwise than Being* makes of language itself something always already for the other. His account attempts to show that, however else it might be analysed and studied, language is first destined to this drama, this intrigue.³²⁷

The drama and the intrigue that take place between writer and reader are what begin to constitute the elements of belonging. Lévinas was also specific about the physicality of the other. It was not an abstract philosophical reality he was referring to, but rather the other as seen in the reality of the face: 'Before being a case, the speaker is a face, the face that speaks'.³²⁸ The face brings one back to the humanity of the subject involved in language. This makes the one thinking about language break the system-inherent way of observing it. The way Lévinas summarises the fundamental difference between his philosophy and Heidegger's is that in the latter the relationship to the other human being is subordinate to the being's relationship with its own being, thus subordinating justice to freedom:

Affirmer la priorité de l'être par rapport à l'étant, c'est déjà se prononcer sur l'essence de la philosophie, subordonner la relation avec quelqu'un qui est un étant (la relation éthique) à une relation avec l'être de l'étant qui, impersonnel, permet la saisie, la domination de l'étant (à une relation de savoir), subordonne la justice à la liberté.³²⁹

The primary interest for Lévinas is therefore the person, not being itself. This insistence on the relationship between one human being to the other resets the potential meaning of language as the mediator between the two, rather than language as the home of being. The weight given to the *Sein* or to the *Seiende* is what differentiates a home where community can be formed and one where isolation continues. This has moral implications which affect the way in which human beings interact.

L'ontologie heideggerienne qui subordonne le rapport avec l'Autrui à la relation avec l'être en général – [...] demeure dans l'obédience de l'anonyme et mène, fatalement, à une autre puissance, à la domination impérialiste, à la tyrannie. Tyrannie qui n'est pas l'extension pure et simple de la technique à des hommes réifiés. Elle remonte à des 'états d'âme' païens, à l'enracinement dans le sol, à l'adoration que des hommes asservis peuvent vouer à leurs maîtres.³³⁰

³²⁷ Paul Davies, 'Sincerity and the end of theodicy: three remarks on Lévinas and Kant' in *The Cambridge Companion to Lévinas*, ed. by Simon Critchley and Robert Bernasconi, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 164.

³²⁸ Llewelyn, p. 120-121.

³²⁹ Emmanuel Lévinas, *Totalité et Infini, Essai sur l'extériorité*, p. 36.

³³⁰ *ibid*, p. 38.

The primacy of the human being as an individual with a personal biography provides the location of the language as a type of home, rather than one where being is revealed.

Heidegger's interest in the thing, process, or course, without there being a person making the choices, awakens Lévinas's mistrust in anonymous concepts such as language or being. In her work on the re-introduction of the subject, Susanne Sandherr emphasises this difference between individuality and anonymity in Lévinas's thinking:

Dennoch hält er daran fest, daß Kultur und Geschichte, Religion und Politik zuerst und zuletzt Menschenwerk sind. Der Mensch kann sich darum nicht aus seiner Verantwortung stehlen und das Feld vermeintlich anonymen Mächten wie der Sprache, dem Sein, der Vernunft oder der Gesellschaft überlassen. Subjekt der Geschichte ist das (Einzel-) Subjekt.³³¹

In *Die Heimliche Geburt des Subjekts* Sandherr examines how Lévinas distances the anonymous *Sein* and tries to rediscover the personal 'I'. He does this within the context of religion, of the relationship of man to woman, and of the relationship to the transcendental. What Lévinas offers is a context in which the human being, as the other, is the centre of attention.

The basis of the *Sprache als Heimat* discourse is therefore not the same for Lévinas as it is for Heidegger. A responsibility towards Being is one which is not questioned, where there is not necessarily a human being involved. The seeming concern and seriousness of this so-called responsibility is never challenged by an individual person. This allows for a deep reflection about home, being and language without ever needing to take up material form of any of the three. The concentration on one aspect of being, namely its way of expressing itself, leaves out the question of its inseparability from the human being as a person. This gap between the *Sein* as such and the human being in front of me, or the one missing, is where a vacuum of meaning can begin to gape. Heidegger himself took refuge in the written word and it became his way of evading the political responsibility that he shouldered. That is why the actual meaning of *Sprache als Heimat* cannot be fully comprehended without a closer investigation of the 'who' within it. Whose language? Whose *Heimat*? How does it change, what are the factors that keep it stable or which cause it to modulate? This tension between Heidegger and Lévinas in ethical issues is where the different versions of *Sprache als Heimat* collide. Heidegger's approach is theoretical and Lévinas's personal. Simon Critchley compares the two philosophers:

³³¹ Susanne Sandherr, *Die heimliche Geburt des Subjekts: Das Subjekt und sein Werden im Denken Emmanuel Lévinas*, (Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln: Kohlhammer, 1998), p. 141.

For a philosopher like Heidegger, the other person is just one of many: the 'they', the crowd, the mass, the herd. I know all about the other because the other is part of the mass that surrounds and suffocates me. On this picture, there is never anything absolutely challenging, remarkable or even, in a word Lévinas uses in his late work, traumatizing about the other person. The other might at best become my colleague, comrade or co-worker, but not the source of my compassion or the subject of my admiration, fear or desire. Lévinas's point is that unless our social interactions are underpinned by ethical relations to other persons, then the worst might happen, that is, the failure to acknowledge the humanity of the other. Such, for Lévinas, is what took place in the Shoah and in the countless other disasters of this century, where the other person becomes a faceless face in the crowd, someone whose life or death is for me a matter of indifference.³³²

Lévinas's conclusion is much more practical than Heidegger's, especially when meditating on the vulnerability to which we are exposed. Being is not housed in language, nor does language speak in a poem. The stranger in front of me confronts me with the language of his or her exposure. This presents me with the ethical choice of ignoring or caring for the other. 'En être réduit à recourir à moi, c'est cela l'apatride ou l'étrangeté du prochain. Elle m'incombe'.³³³

Lévinas's approach is to put the individual at the centre of historical and philosophical thought. It is fundamental to take a human being's experiences as the departure point for philosophical reflection. The concentration on the subject can put the *philo* back into philosophy, so that love has a subject. The claim of this study is that the poetry of Rosenkranz contributes to the re-instatement of a balanced relationship between 'I' and 'thou', thereby unwittingly aligning himself with the philosophy of Lévinas and providing a credible case for *Sprache als Heimat* in the commonly understood version of the phrase, rather than in the way that Heidegger himself would have meant it.

Rosenkranz's poems describe the way he related to particular people, situations or landscapes. These make the individual reality of each come back to life, so that out of a large number of people one particular person is chosen. In the following poem the focus remains on the fate one boy among the many present in the concentration camp:

Der Weg zur Brause

König reich ist er gewesen
als er dem Waggon entstieg
hielt die Mutter mit der Rechten

³³² Simon Critchley, *The Cambridge Companion to Lévinas*, p. 12-13.

³³³ Emmanuel Lévinas, *Autrement qu'être ou au delà de l'essence*, p. 145.

mit der Linken seinen Vater
und im Takte mit dem Herzen
in der Westentasche tickte
kostbarste Barmizwagabe
seine Schweizer Doxa-Uhr³³⁴

Following the boy from his arrival to his final departure, the poetic voice concentrates on the details of the boy's relationships, his actions and on his items of clothing. The separation of 'könig' and 'reich' in the first line is typical of Rosenkranz, as if insisting that the reader re-read the adjective in order to give it special emphasis. The reflection on the child's richness is thus seen on two levels: the first being that the boy is not yet an orphan and the second in the material wealth of the Swiss watch. The loss of each element that had made him wealthy is the theme of the second stanza:

Auf der Rampe wurde Vater
seiner schmalen Hand entrissen
während nächster Schritte schon
mußte er die Mutter lassen
weiter auf dem Kieselpfad
stießen in die Westentasche
lange Finger und entflogen
mit der Uhr der Schweizer Doxa

The weight on the first syllables of 'Vater', 'Hand' and 'Mutter' in lines nine, ten and twelve focuses on the isolated moments of this particular family tragedy. Although there is no name or no reference to who this family was, the enforced departure of the child from his parents marks an individual memory of the plight of one family. The focus is on the uniqueness of each person, not on the generalities of suffering or of human cruelty.

Fürbaß schreitend von den Füßen
mußte er die Stiefel streifen
von den Hüften seine Hosen
und den Mantel von den Schultern
auch die Weste und das Hemd
denn er ging ja in die Brause
würde alles wiederfinden
nach der Reinigung zurück

One by one each item of clothing is removed as the boy unknowingly makes his way to his own death. In the last three lines the boy's perspective is introduced, so as to show what he

³³⁴ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Der Weg zur Brause', *Im Untergang*, p. 82-83.

had been told. The poignancy of the lie that he was made to believe is then accentuated in the following four lines:

Aber vor der Tür des Bades
schnitten sie vom Kopf die Haare
Läuse müssen draußen bleiben
und die Locken wachsen wieder!

The voice changes in the second half of the stanza more directly to that of the ones who knew what awaited the boy. The details of the type of hair the boy had makes the lyrical subject's relationship to the victim one that has committed itself to the latter's memory.

At the end of the poem the lyrical subject returns to the perspective of the one observing the boy. Then, surprisingly, the voice of another victim is introduced:

Der entblößte Bub indessen
fühlte nicht mehr die Verluste
aus den Dushraum hallte machtvoll
seines Volkes breite Stimme:
Offen steht das Tor der Himmel!
aufrecht ging auch er hinein

The lack of punctuation throughout the poem creates the sense of gradual, confused progression towards the tragic end. In the last lines of the poem the boy is seen at his most vulnerable. Denied the presence of his mother and father, stripped of all his belongings, the child becomes numb; in the final lines the death itself is not mentioned. The sign of hope that the poem brings is the defiance of the Jewish people in the claim that the just will pass through the gates of heaven. Innocent suffering is seen here as not having the final word. The last remark of the child's righteousness gives hope that justice will be restored, if not in this world then in the next.

All of Rosenkranz's poems are about specific relationships and individual people. They are about those who have died, about his villages, about farmers or about his own reactions to the events around him. The relationships he constructs with his writing are a clear testimony to the life of the individual victims. The issue of the 'thou' to whom the poems are addressed will be investigated in a later chapter, but it is already clear that his diary-like need to notate his reactions to occurrences resulted in the re-emergence of persons and emotions which reflected Lévinas's insistence on the subject, rather than a concern for the nature of being itself. As Matthias Huff wrote about Rosenkranz, it was the latter's intention to salvage the personal encounters from oblivion that led to his poetry :

‘Der Dichter ist froh über alles, was er vor dem Vergessen retten kann, Fakten, Erinnerungen, Gefühle, Gedanken. Er ist nicht Psychologe, eher Bildhauer, Architekt oder – Maurer’.³³⁵

The importance of the person to whom language is addressed is the centre of the issue of language being like a home. The re-instatement of the subject is the conscious decision to place the person at the heart of the question of language and of belonging.

³³⁵ Matthias Huff in *Kindheit*, p. 236.

The poem's address

Not only is the question of the subject relevant in the concept of *Sprache als Heimat*, but also that of whom the text is written to or for. In the past century the question of whom the poem is addressed to has been a major concern in the minds of poets and readers alike. Whether the poem is seen as being addressed to nobody, as in Gottfried Benn's assertion that the absolute poem is addressed to no one, or whether it is felt to be always a proof of dialogue, as in Mandelstam's 1913 essay 'On the Interlocutor' there has been a great deal of questioning in the twentieth century about who verse is actually written for.³³⁶ Karen Leeder, in her research project entitled 'The address of German Poetry', chooses the image of the message in a bottle, as used by Brecht and Celan, to illustrate the mixture of hope and disillusionment of the poet when writing for someone in 'this most turbulent of centuries'.³³⁷ Brecht's view of writing poetry in 1942 was that it was an act bordering on the obtuse:

Hier Lyrik zu schreiben, selbst aktuelle, bedeutet, sich in den Elfenbeinturm zurückzuziehen. Es ist, als betreibe man Goldschmiedekunst. Das hat etwas Schrulliges, Kauzhaftes, Borniertes. Solche Lyrik ist Flaschenpost.³³⁸

Celan on the other hand stresses the faith that writing still implied. Whether or not there was much confidence in the poem being well received, there was nonetheless hope at the heart of the enterprise:

Das Gedicht kann, da es ja eine Erscheinungsform der Sprache und damit seinem Wesen nach dialogisch ist, eine Flaschenpost sein, aufgegeben in dem - gewiß nicht immer hoffnungsstarken - Glauben, sie könnte irgendwo und irgendwann an Land gespült werden, an Herzland vielleicht. Gedichte sind auch in dieser Weise unterwegs: sie halten auf etwas zu. Worauf? Auf Offenstehendes, Besetzbares, auf ein ansprechbares Du vielleicht, auf eine ansprechende Wirklichkeit.³³⁹

³³⁶ Gottfried Benn, *Probleme der Lyrik*, (Wiesbaden: Limes), 1954, 3rd edn, p. 39 and 'On the Interlocutor' in Osip Mandelstam, *Collected Works*, vol.1, ed. Pavel Nerler et al., (Moscow 1993), p. 183-4, quoted in Michael Eskin 'Of Sailors and Poets: On Celan, Grünbein and Brodsky' in *German Life and Letters* 60:3 (Oxford: Blackwell, July 2007), p. 317.

³³⁷ Karen Leeder, 'The address of German Poetry', *German Life and Letters*, 60:3 July 2007, p. 278.

³³⁸ Bertolt Brecht, *Arbeitsjournal*, (5.4.1942) , in Brecht, *Werke. Große kommentierte Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe*. Ed. Werner Hecht, Jan Knopf et al., (Berlin, Weimar, Frankfurt am Main: 1988-2000), p.79-80, quoted in Karen Leeder, 'The address of German Poetry', *German Life and Letters* 60:3 July 2007, p. 277.

³³⁹ Paul Celan, *Meridian, Ansprache anläßl. Des Literaturpreises der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* (1958) , in Celan *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Bodo Allemann and Stefan Reichert, (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1983), vol. 3, p.186, cited in Karen Leeder, 'The address of German Poetry', *German Life and Letters*, (Oxford: Blackwell), 60:3 July 2007, p. 277.

After the Holocaust the readers and writers of poetry no longer necessarily shared much common ground: 'Eine kulturelle Übereinkunft zwischen Autor und Leser, ein gemeinsames Werteparadigma und eine gemeinsame Sprache, ist deshalb nicht mehr verfügbar'.³⁴⁰ The ambiguity of whom it is that the author is writing for becomes especially relevant when trying to determine the meaning of *Sprache als Heimat*. Kertesz describes this ambiguous state of community as the threatening use of the pronoun 'we':

Denn nirgendwo ist so offenkundig, daß die Sprache "nicht für dich gedacht ist und nicht für mich", wie im totalitären Staat, wo das Ich und das Du nicht existieren und das beliebteste Personalpronomen das mystische und bedrohliche "Wir" ist, bei dem man nicht weiß, wer oder was sich dahinter verbirgt.³⁴¹

The nature of the 'we' is no longer a benign entity after the Holocaust, not where whole societies refused to acknowledge their guilt, and not in the totalitarian state. The community of readers and writers was so destroyed by the Holocaust that the listener's role was no longer one which the author could rely on:

one has to conceive of the world of the Holocaust as a world in which the very imagination of the Other was no longer possible. There was no longer another to which one could say 'Thou' in the hope of being heard, of being recognized as a subject, of being answered. The historical reality of the Holocaust became, thus, a reality which extinguished philosophically the very possibility of address, the possibility of appealing, or of turning to, another. But when one cannot turn to a 'you' one cannot say 'thou' even to oneself.³⁴²

This inability to speak even to oneself reflects the rupture within the self which is precisely what had occurred in the poem that Rosenkranz wrote as a child, when he had seen the ravages of the fear of the enemy in the first world war: 'Sehr fürchten sie voreinander, / und was ihn im Ebenbild ängstigt, / so mancher machts aus sich selber: / Den blicklosen leblosen Leichmann'.³⁴³ The ultimate fear of the other, or of the other in oneself in the case of the soldier who had committed suicide, distorted the very nature of communication. The first stage of coming to terms with it was the personal relief that expression could bring with it.

³⁴⁰ Bettina Englmann, *Die Poetik des Exils, Die Modernität der deutschsprachigen Exilliteratur*, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer), p. 21-22.

³⁴¹ Imre Kertész, 'Die exilierte Sprache' translated from Hungarian to German by Kristin Schwamm, in *Die exilierte Sprache, Essays und Reden*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), p. 214.

³⁴² Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History*, (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 82.

³⁴³ *Kindheit*, p. 94.

Rosenkranz states that he wrote the lines above in order to alleviate his reaction to what he had seen: 'Um meinen Schmerz darüber zu lindern'.³⁴⁴

Despite the unknown nature of the readership, the author's desire to write arises from the need to communicate whether this happens in the author's lifetime or afterwards. This communication often begins with the self, as can best be seen in diary writing, which can be honestly written for oneself only, showing the double role of writer and reader within the self. For the author whose life is in danger, this self-affirmation on the page, whether in prose or in verse, can be a major part of self-understanding. In his work on the importance of language for self-knowledge Gerhart Baumann underlines the significance of this form of communication:

Die Akte der Selbstvergegenwärtigung machen offenbar, daß kein Tag wie der Sand im Stundenglas verrinnt, daß vielmehr in Vermutungen und Wertungen die Einstellungen unablässig wechseln, daß der Tag als Last, als Bewährung wie als Verheißung und Erfüllung erfahren werden kann.³⁴⁵

This personal placing of oneself onto paper indicates the need to make a mark as the initial stage of a relationship, the re-ordering of the different parts of the self as can be read in the following poem by Rosenkranz: 'Es schert dich nicht mein Körper daß ich trauer/ du hältst mich fest der ich entfliehn möcht/ du richtest deine Feste Nervenmauer/ auf gegen mich und trommelst auf dein Recht'.³⁴⁶ The body opposes the will in this poem and the 'I' is divided between the one who wishes to depart from this life, and the body which forbids the exit.

Another example of the 'I' being divided in itself is 'Minne' where the 'I' does not manage to leave itself, but rather remains engaged in self-observation.

Minne

Wie komm ich durch den Tag hindurch
der mich von dir noch trennt
ich stoß mir Wunden an der Zeit
verblute bis zu dir

Seitdem ich dir gehöre
werd ich von mir betreut
daß nichts an mir dich störe
und alles dich erfreut³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Gerhart Baumann, *Sprache und Selbstbegegnung*, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1981), p. 58.

³⁴⁶ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Der Körper', *Im Untergang II*, p. 75, lines 1-4.

³⁴⁷ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Minne', *Im Untergang II*, lines 1-8, p. 25.

The choice of the word 'Minne' echoes the medieval genre of love poetry and the poetic voice creates the sense of longing that the beloved causes in the heart of the lyrical subject. The poem seems to bridge the gap between the 'I' and the person to whom it is addressed but the second stanza widens the perspective of the 'I' to you by considering the self-reflective aspect of the one in love, seeking to make himself acceptable to the beloved. Therefore the 'I' splits into two and allows for the subject to establish communication with the self before the encounter with the beloved. When investigating the role of giving witness within the fields of literature, history and psychoanalysis, Felman and Laub point to the repositioning of the interlocutor to the listener: 'The testimony is [...] the process by which the narrator (the survivor) reclaims his position as a witness; reconstitutes the internal 'thou', and thus the possibility of a witness or a listener inside himself'.³⁴⁸ This understanding of the dialogic character of the poem's address avoids the pitfalls of needing to name the exact person for whom the verse may have been written. It fits in with Brodsky's view of the poem's recipient: 'The widespread belief that a poet always writes for someone is only half justified and is fraught with numerous confusions. The best answer to the question "Whom do you write for" was given by Igor Stravinsky: "For myself and for a hypothetical alter ego".'³⁴⁹

'Reclaiming his position as witness' Rosenkranz was able to maintain the dialogue within himself, thereby acquiring a secure 'internal thou', which was not shattered by political and personal ruptures, as seen in his almost automatic transfer of his experience into words: 'nur heimlich im Abendlicht/ hefte an jedem Tage/ an den Zaun ein Gedicht'.³⁵⁰

Rosenkranz's work is a monumental testimony to the need to be a part of a community, which would also contribute to his financial security. At the beginning of his literary career there were many lectures and poetry readings in Czernovitz, held by doctors, journalists and other intellectuals. Rosenkranz used these as a way of committing friends and admirers to subscribe to his works, thus providing him with a small income. An extract from a letter to Alfred Margul-Sperber describes the atmosphere and the hopes of those early years:

Verehrter Herr Sperber, wie angekündigt war, las gestern abends Frau Dr. Vinzent im Saale der Ärztekammer meine Gedichte. Der Saal war überfüllt. [...] Anfänglich schien es, als geizte die Zuhörerschaft mit Beifall – nach dem 5ten oder 6ten Stück aber [...] begann es zu wetterleuchten und gleich darauf zu stürmen – Beifall nämlich. Man empfand, die errangen den Sieg. Gegen Ende [...] – ward alles

³⁴⁸ Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, p. 85.

³⁴⁹ Joseph Brodsky, *Less Than One: Selected Essays*, (New York 1986), p. 199, quoted in Michael Eskin 'Of Sailors and Poets: On Celan, Grünbein and Brodsky' in *German Life and Letters* (60:3 July 2007), p. 327.

³⁵⁰ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Werbung' in *Bukowina Gedichte 1920-1997*, p. 10-12.

hingerissen, und das gemischte Publikum aller religiösen und politischen Bekenntnisse ward eine einzige begeisterte Masse.³⁵¹

These experiences must have contributed to Rosenkranz's faith in the quality of his own works and provided the encouragement at the start of a career which would hold firm throughout the many bitter disappointments of his later years: 'Der Erfolg für die Subskriptionsliste war über Erwarten'.³⁵² The subscriptions are also often mentioned in the letters to Anna from the New York Leo Baeck collection. This financial dependency he had on friends and acquaintances remained inextricable from his desire for the recognition of his verse.

In his four collections of verse, Rosenkranz addresses several 'du's: his mother, a beloved, his daughter, death or a deceased person, a village, the readers and also himself. Whether addressing his mother shortly after her death, or whether singing praises of his village by the Pruth river, Rosenkranz converses with the subjects around him, speaking to them as a way of maintaining a dialogue with the realities surrounding him. He is keenly aware of the inter-connectivity between him and his surroundings, describing himself as 'mehr die Wirklichkeit als das Musische genießend'.³⁵³ The importance of his surroundings is also evidenced in the way he refers to Margul-Sperber's use of the 'I' form. In an introduction to a collection of the latter's poems he wrote 'Man lasse sich nicht von der Ichform dieser Dichtung täuschen. Ich ist in ihrer Welt immer auch du und er und wir alle'.³⁵⁴ This claim to the relationships that the 'I' implies was a trait that would apply for his own verse as it is always awake to the place of the individual within nature and society.

More specifically, the act of writing itself provided Rosenkranz with a sense of comfort, as he expresses in one of his letters: 'Bevor ich den Brief schrieb, hatte ich scharfe Schmerzen, als ich mich zu Dir zu äussern begann, liessen sie gleich nach und nun, nachdem ich Dich ganz gegenwärtig habe, spüre ich überhaupt keine Beschwerden und bin ganz hell'.³⁵⁵ Here Rosenkranz recognises the therapeutic effects of writing when addressing his wife. The choice of words 'Dir zu äussern' illustrates the importance of the opening of himself to Anna, rather than just the act of writing itself being beneficial. The importance of the 'du' in

³⁵¹ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Briefe von Moses Rosenkranz an Alfred Margul-Sperber (1930-1963), ed. by George Guțu, Zeitschrift der Germanisten Rumäniens 1-2 (7-8)/ 1995, (Bucharest: Charmé-Scott), p. 162.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Briefe von Moses Rosenkranz an Alfred Margul-Sperber (1930-1963), ed. by George Guțu, Zeitschrift der Germanisten Rumäniens 1-2 (7-8)/ 1995, (Bucharest: Charmé-Scott), p. 198.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 192.

³⁵⁵ Moses Rosenkranz unpublished letter to Anna Rosenkranz, dated 15 June 1940, Moses Rosenkranz collection AR 25087Reel 1, frame 428.

Rosenkranz's biography was not exemplified by strong ties of friendship but rather by the unnamed, yet personal presence of the expected readership of his poems. 'Ich schaute einmal die vertriebenen Seelen/ sich abermal auf diesem Stern ergehen/ und hoffte daß sie in den Leichhöhlen/ noch unterm Schädel dieses Buch erspähn'.³⁵⁶ The text offers a power of recognition that the writer seeks, whether consciously or not. Thus in Rosenkranz's verse there is clearly the need to be in dialogue with himself, with the world around him and with the reader. The reader, as an unnamed 'du' can be the real sense of belonging to which the writer commits him or herself.

This stance is clearly closer to Lévinas's stress on the importance of what takes place between two individuals, rather than what occurs on the page. Yet this same focus can be used when looking at texts.

'Das Sagen ist für mich weniger aufgrund eines Inhalts an Informationen als aufgrund der Tatsache, daß es sich an einen Gesprächspartner richtet, von Bedeutung'.³⁵⁷ Lévinas's insistence on the issue of whom language is directed at gives the words themselves almost a secondary importance, compared to what happens between two people when language is used. In the text this is also what occurs when the claim is held that language is a home. In this case what is primary is not the value of the text as a literary piece, but rather its importance for the author as a way of reaching the 'thou'.

When reflecting on Celan's poetry, Ulrich Baer bypasses the interest in the precise person to whom the poems are addressed and concentrates on the receptivity of the one listening:

it remains somewhat beside the point to ask who hides behind Celan's enigmatic "you" [...]. Any descriptive answer (Celan's dead mother, his wife, God, Being, the victims of the Shoah, Buber's "thou", the radiation emanating from the century's catastrophes) diminishes the poem and its irreducibly prescriptive dimension. Although there are indeed poems in Celan's oeuvre that retain such referential links, such an answer would risk legitimating (or rejecting) the address of and by the other by reducing the incomprehensible obligation of the "you" and by thus reclaiming the position of the addressor rather than remaining the poem's receptive addressee. All commentary necessarily translates this "you" in Celan's poems into a third person – "the you" – and thus risks turning the infinite demand of this you into a finite, determinate, and graspable totality (where it becomes part of speculative thought). But the "you" in Celan's poems must remain without atmosphere, unimaginable, and without resonance and yet shining into our time with a light that cannot be avoided.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Hoffnung' in *Im Untergang*, lines 9-12.

³⁵⁷ Emmanuel Lévinas, *Ethik und Unendliches: Gespräche mit Philippe Nemo*, trans. by Dorothea Schmidt, ed. by Peter Engelmann, (Vienna: Passagen, 1986), p. 31.

³⁵⁸ Ulrich Baer, p. 209.

If readers avoid the 'referential link' therefore and remain attentive to the 'obligation of the you', they can be addressed as the one to whom the poet can speak, rather than being considered as a third party who is not affected by the address.

Paul Sars also comments on the transcendent nature of that same 'thou' which addresses the other, who is beyond the time of the writing :

Diese Unendlichkeit zielt weder auf Ewigkeit noch auf ein endloses Dasein. Gemeint ist die Transzendenz der Dichtung, die Fähigkeit des Gedicht, als sprechende Instanz über die Zeit hinweg ein ansprechbares Du anzusteuern. Die "Unendlichsprechung" faßt eine Form des Dialogs, ein Gespräch im Geiste von Denkern wie Lévinas, Buber und Rosenzweig. So beschreibt Lévinas das Verhältnis von Du und Ich als ein unumkehrbares, asymmetrisches, lehrendes Verhältnis, wobei der Blick des Anderen in mir die Idee des Unendlichen wachruft. Erst in der sinnlichen, konkreten Erfahrung des Unendlichen – der Andere, der mich ansieht und zu mir spricht – entsteht die eigene Identität als unverwechselbare Persönlichkeit: das Ich wird für den Anderen ein Du und dadurch ich selbst.³⁵⁹

Thus the poem allows the person to whom it is addressed to surpass the normal barriers of time in dialogue, becoming a more transcendental listener, absorbing the layers of time between the date of the poem's creation and the time when it is read.

The poem's address therefore leads directly to the hypothesis that the location of the writer's sense of belonging is not so much in language itself as in the one to whom it is spoken. Some Bukovina poets came to the explicit conclusion that the person was the main 'location' of home. In the last lines of the undated poem 'Heimat' Norbert Feuerstein, who was born in 1905 in Czernovitz and died in 1957 in Jerusalem, defines home as only ever really possible by being with another person.³⁶⁰

Doch stückhaft warst du stets, Heimat,
und Ganzes nie in der Dinge Vielfalt.
Denn mit den Dingen, will's mich bedünken,
ist das Zusammensein niemals Erfüllung -
und wahrhaft zuhaus ist der Mensch nur im Menschen.

Here *Heimat* is seen as the place where there is a complete sense of belonging, in a way that objects or ideas cannot provide. 'Erfüllung' describes what is expected of *Heimat*. The land or house could only be pieces of home but a person can be a complete refuge for someone else.

³⁵⁹ Paul Sars in: Paul Celan, „Du mußt versuchen, auch den Schweigenden zu hören“, *Briefe an Diet Kloos-Barendregt*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002), p. 119.

³⁶⁰ Norbert Feuerstein, in *Versunkene Dichtung der Bukowina*, p. 227.

So *Heimat* contains a yearning for the ideal in spite of the many experiences of the contrary. The extra characteristic of *Heimat* offering a feeling of completion is unique to the *Heimat* that is found in a person. Yet the wholeness is one which is not static, as the other is a person who can change in unexpected ways. The other person's feelings and thoughts are always developing, therefore in some ways this adds a factor of insecurity. The new *Heimat* becomes tangible but not controllable, an asylum requiring activity and reciprocity for it to retain its essence.

Another personal and deeply religious *Heimat* concept from the Bukovina can be found in Johanna Brucker's idea of home:

Die Kerze ist abgebrannt. Schnee rieselt
draußen leise und hüllt alles ein in den weißen
verheißenden Liebe.

Ich kehre zurück zu denen, die mir geblieben,
geschart um das Kind in der Krippe,
das, selbst einst heimatlos,
uns allen Heimat geworden.³⁶¹

Although undated, this short poem clearly conjures up the personal displacements due to political events, mentioning the lack of a geographical homeland, which is then found in the one person who was, by his very nature, not at home in this world. The belief in the historical figure of Christ as the outcast provides a sense of home for the subject who has lost a worldly *Heimat*. The Bukovina poems can be seen as works which seek to re-establish a trustworthy relationship between poet and reader.

'Das Gedicht will zu einem Andern, es braucht dieses Andere, es braucht ein Gegenüber. Es sucht es auf, es spricht sich ihm zu'.³⁶² Celan's view would find a closer alignment to Buber's understanding of the poem's address as directed towards the 'du' than to Heidegger's views: 'Denn das Gedicht ist Gesprochenheit, Gesprochenheit zum Du, wo immer ihm der Partner wese'.³⁶³

³⁶¹ Johanna Brucker, 'Kerze im Fenster' in *Versunkene Dichtung der Bukowina*, p. 284-285, lines 36-42.

³⁶² Paul Celan, Meridian, 'Rede anläßl. d. Verleihung des Georg-Büchner-Preises' ; Darmstadt, am 22. Okt. In *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 3, ed. By Beda Allemann and Stefan Reichert, (Frankfurt am Main: suhrkamp, 2000), p. 198.

³⁶³ Martin Buber, *Logos: Zwei Reden*, 8th edn., (Heidelberg: Schneider), 1997, p. 23.

Redress of poetry

The question of the poem's address is intimately linked to that of what writing itself seeks to change. By spelling out absurdities and injustices, the writer contributes to the restoration of a sense of order, thus turning a personal act into one that can have an impact on the whole community. Changing the balance between the 'I' and the 'you' in a poem affects the wider context of the justice the writer seeks to re-instate within society. One of the most influential texts relating to this role of poetry is Seamus Heaney's series of lectures entitled *The Redress of Poetry*. He and Rosenkranz shared the rural background which was to become so closely related to their love of words. Heaney's 'redress of poetry' focuses on the role of poetry in correcting the balance, of rectifying wrongs. He describes the process of writing poetry as 'redressing injustice':

And in the activity of poetry too, there is a tendency to place a counter-reality in the scales – a reality which is imagined within the gravitational pull of the actual and can therefore hold its own and balance out against the historical situation. This redressing effect of poetry comes from its being a glimpsed alternative, a revelation of potential that is denied or constantly threatened by circumstances.³⁶⁴

The 'counter-reality' in the present discussion can be called that of new homes. The imagination finds the possibility of forming a new weight which can be strong enough to be put in the balance 'against the historical situation'. It is this interest in changing the situation that causes movement. The motivation for change is transformed into practical action once the letters are on the page. The 'glimpsed alternative' gives the writer hope of being part of a new reality and Heaney, whose own father was a farmer, saw poetry as a form of agriculture, as a means of transforming raw material, as did Rosenkranz: 'Ach Vaterland/ doch Geistes Sprache/ wenn jenes schwand/ bleibt sie die Sache// Der Muttergrund/ wo ich bestehe/ und pflüge und / vertrauend säe.'³⁶⁵ Both Rosenkranz and Heaney saw farming as a metaphor for writing, an image for transformation.

Rosenkranz felt the importance of committing memory to paper in order to witness to another order of justice at an early age. When he turned fifteen, on 20 June 1919, he wrote down a conversation between himself and his soul, the latter telling him that writing is not an appropriate reaction to the misery around him and he replies that at least by writing he can save the memory of those who are dying.

³⁶⁴ Seamus Heaney, *The Redress of Poetry*, p. 259.

³⁶⁵ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Das Bleibende' in *Im Untergang*, p. 24, lines 1-8.

So laß mich sie in meiner Sprache betten,
in deren Eis sie unzerstörbar sind!
Nur so vermag ich sie noch hier zu retten,
im Grab die Mutter und in ihr das Kind.³⁶⁶

This early sense of having the responsibility to save the memory of those he had seen die exemplifies the way he saw himself as the one who had to preserve the history of the people around him by transcribing it into small-scale biographies. Their suffering was the reason for his writing and it was through verse that he could give meaning to the disorder he witnessed. It was his way of redressing the balance. When, in the second line of the stanza, he refers to ice as the matter in which his language will be bedded, there is already a sense of the uncertainty of its permanence. Yet, the hope of saving mother and child at least in words was the reason for choosing verse.

The experience of injustice and the intense desire to counteract it is certainly a part of the reason of why so much prose and verse was written in the Bukovina in the decades before and after the Holocaust. Jan Philipp Reemtsma points out that many of those interned in concentration camps and in gulags were intellectuals to whom society had turned for the interpretation of the world and who would do so again later.³⁶⁷ The interpretation of the world and the decision to remember by using the written word came as a reaction to the ubiquitous attempt to erase the past.

This choice of resistance is one in which the present is not seen as having the last word. The quietness of the written page is an active response to violence. It records what was witnessed, it materialises the inner conviction of the knowledge of justice. Theo Buck writes of Immanuel Weißglas: 'Er fand sogar die Kraft, von Ort zu Ort geschleppt, in ständiger Todesnähe, Verse zu schreiben – trotz alledem. Es war der Weg des Gegenworts. Schreiben als Entscheidung für das Leben'.³⁶⁸ The opposing word, the 'Gegenwort', is one that contradicts that which happens to have the loudest voice at a particular time. It is a version of Heaney's a 'counter-reality'.

Describing misery already contains the possibility of a turn in fate when writing becomes the first step away from the imprisonment of misfortune. The written word can become the

³⁶⁶ Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit*, p. 179.

³⁶⁷ Jan Philipp Reemtsma, 'Die Memoiren Überlebender: Eine Literaturgattung des 20. Jahrhunderts', (Hamburg: Mittelweg 36, August/September 1997), p. 23.

³⁶⁸ Theo Buck in *Aschenzeit* by Immanuel Weißglas, p. 131.

‘Buchstabenbrücke zwischen Unglück und Trost’.³⁶⁹ This bridge of letters between unhappiness and comfort is one which the writer must both construct and walk across. In his work on Austrian literature Sebald confirms Heaney’s views on the ‘redress of poetry’ when he states that the use of letters and words is driven by the writer’s hope for change:

Melancholie, das Überdenken des sich vollziehenden Unglücks, hat aber mit Todessucht nichts gemein. Sie ist eine Form des Widerstands. Und auf dem Niveau der Kunst vollends ist ihre Funktion alles andere als bloß reaktiv oder reaktionär. Wenn sie, starren Blicks, noch einmal nachrechnet, wie es nur so hat kommen können, dann zeigt es sich, daß die Motorik der Trostlosigkeit und diejenige der Erkenntnis identische Exekutiven sind. Die Beschreibung des Unglücks schließt in sich die Möglichkeit zu seiner Überwindung ein.³⁷⁰

This characteristic of being an expression of the hope for change is particularly relevant for the Bukovina writers, because it names one of the psychological saving powers of being able to voice one’s innate desire for the reversal of an unhappy situation and because it shows the gratuitous function of this type of writing, which is neither for fame nor for profit. Sebald states that this is why Thomas Bernhard, Peter Handke, Kafka and Canetti wrote and it can be claimed with all the more emphasis about Rosenkranz and the other writers from Czernovitz.

The following lines by Mandelstam show how the urge to restore justice on a personal and on a political level was a main reason for writing for him too. After a colleague of his held a public recitation of an anti-Semitic poem, Mandelstam, offended, wrote the following lines:

Singt einer wahr und singt es eigen,
Mit vollem Atem—wenns gelingt
Verschwindet alles, übrigbleiben
Der Raum, die Sterne, er, der singt!³⁷¹

This was Mandelstam’s way of stating that only what is true survives. It shows the trust that he had in the power of words to be victorious over the lies for which they were being used. The lines suggest that only the space in which the poet sings, only the stars and only the poet himself will remain if the truth is sung. Mandelstam insists on the truth’s capacity to survive despite external contradictions.

There are many cases of how poetry helped to reinforce a community of thinkers, especially in times of chaos and injustice, when solidarity between people was being eroded at all ends.

³⁶⁹ W.G. Sebald, *Die Beschreibung des Unglücks*, p. 13.

³⁷⁰ W.G. Sebald, *ibid.* p. 12.

³⁷¹ Ossip Mandelstam, *Ossip Mandelstam, Meine Zeit, Mein Tier*, by Ralph Dutli, p. 108.

Mandelstam and Akhmatova exchanged poems during the violent times of the October Revolution in Russia as a kind of antidote to the poison around them: 'Die beiden trugen sich gegenseitig Gedichte vor: auch ein Gegengift gegen Gewalt, Plünderungen, Anarchie.'³⁷² At a time when many had lost friends and family, writing became a way of casting one's lines out beyond the desolation of the here and now. Writing seems recreated the community which was threatened or destroyed by political control.

In a context where identity was being reduced to the point of extinction, the use of words discloses something fundamental about the need, not only to state one's presence, but also to stress one's uniqueness. As Arendt remarks: 'speech corresponds to the fact of distinctness and is the actualization of the human condition of plurality, that is, of living as a distinct and unique being among equals'.³⁷³ Writing also imprints the fact of one's being 'distinct and unique among equals'. It is a way of rebelling against the bulldozing effect that poverty and violence can have when individuals are reduced to anonymous numbers. Writing redresses the balance between individuals and society.

Another way of redressing the balance was by insisting on the intellectual and spiritual capacities of those who were being mistreated. To remind oneself and to be reminded by others of the incorruptible essence of human dignity was an act that was made possible by works of literature. This was the case for Primo Levi:

Literary memory – the cultural baggage impressed on liceo students – made life bearable for Levi: one thinks of his beautiful account of reciting Dante to his uncomprehending companion in the most uncompromising of circumstances. Memory recalled Ulysses' reminder to his shipmates that they were men, not beasts.³⁷⁴

This assertion of a fact that was constantly being denied shows how important the written word was for those who were in a context where their own existence as human beings was being denied. When destruction is the main action being encouraged by the authorities, then apart from the physical reactions of trying to avoid death, there is the urgent need for writers to restore the value of life in the minds of readers. Words could confirm the inner certainty of a different logic than the one being experienced. They could materialise the knowledge by transforming it into signs, which in turn refer to the truth of their representation. So the movement from the inner knowledge to the outer proof of it is what occurs when language is chosen as a means of helping one survive. A poignant example of the help the written word

³⁷² Ralph Dutli, p. 170.

³⁷³ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, p. 178.

³⁷⁴ Thomas Laqueur, 'Travelling in the Classic Style' in *London Review of Books*, 5 September 2002, p. 10.

can provide is Viktor Frankl's anecdote of what happened to the ghetto library before a transport was about to leave.

A transport with about 1000 young people was scheduled to leave the next morning [from Theresienstadt]. When the morning came, it turned out that over night the ghetto library had been burglarized [sic.]. Each of the youngsters—who were doomed to death in the concentration camp of Auschwitz—had provided himself with a couple of books by his favourite poet or novelist or scientist, and had hidden the books in his rucksack.³⁷⁵

Not only works of literature or religious texts were stolen from the library but also scientific works. When leaving the last signs of familiarity, the young people clung to books which could remind them of a 'counter-reality'. The search for a tangible reality remote from the one they were experiencing was found in the printed pages. This need for a meaning with a tangible form is part of the answer to how language can provide a sense of belonging. The outer signs offer the senses proof of the inner truth of one's conviction by being a material reminder of abstract truths. This becomes especially powerful when there is a continual violation of justice. The book, because it can be felt and read, has a physical means of bringing back the 'Gegenwort'. The senses of sight and touch become crucial as reminders of a different world.

As seen in Améry's works however, there can also be the danger of the futility of the enterprise of expression, of the self-delusion latent in the whole procedure. A recent examination of this theme was explored in the theatre play *Die Reise nach Alt Mamajestie oder der beste Witz ist Czernowitz* by Alexander Kukelka, which describes the illusion of two actors who think they will one day succeed at the theatre and who, after long and dreary travels arrive in Czernovitz, only to find that their invitation to perform there had been a hoax. The dream of art's potential to influence everyday life, even if it just means earning enough money to survive, is shown in all its misery when the team of two actors fail and return to square one at the end of the play. The temptation of self-delusion that the artistic mission always carries with it, as in Grillparzer's *Armer Spielmann* who plays the violin terribly but says sees himself as just playing for himself and for God, presents a real danger of the trend of calling writing, or any other artistic form, a home. This was also expressed in Kafka's caustic remark of having waited for the Messiah and finding that Don Quixote had arrived instead.

³⁷⁵ Viktor Frankl, *The Unheard Cry for Meaning*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978), p. 33.

Yet, the danger of delusion is perhaps not as great as that of despair and at times it might even be fiction which saves the truth, as Carlos Fuentes claims in his speech in praise of the novel:

In Don Quixote, Dostoevsky wrote, truth is saved by a lie. With Cervantes, the novel establishes its birthright as a lie that is the foundation of truth. For through the medium of fiction, the novelist puts reason to the proof. Fiction invents what the world lacks, what the world has forgotten, what it hopes to attain and perhaps can never reach. Fiction is thus a way of appropriating the world.³⁷⁶

This appropriation of the world is what literature can provide, and this is what is so crucial when the normal parameters of belonging have been denied. Whether it be in the novel or in a poem, or even a technical textbook, the written word creates a form of reality which can help to save that which historical events decimate, as is the case with the works of Joseph Roth, who captured an eastern European environment which was to disappear with the Second World War.

Vieles von dem, [...] was Roth [...] zu Papier brachte, war der symbolischen Errettung einer Welt zugeacht, von der er wußte, daß sie der Zerstörung bereits überantwortet war. Die literarischen Bilder aus dem europäischen Osten, die Roth uns überliefert hat, entsprechen den photographischen Aufnahmen, die Roman Vishniak unmittelbar vor dem sogenannten Ausbruch des Krieges in den jüdischen Gemeinden der Slowakei und Polens gemacht hat. Sie zeigen die Anzeichen des Endes und geben in ihrer bewegenden Schönheit die vielleicht akkuratete Vorstellung von der moralischen Indifferenz derjenigen, die sich damals zu ihrem Vernichtungswerk bereits anschickten.³⁷⁷

The memories that Joseph Roth gathered in text and that Roman Vishniak collected in photographs drew together the images of an order before it was destroyed. Whether as a historical archive, or as a personal construction, writing recreates fractions of lost worlds.

The creation of a just society carries with it a religious role of mediating between this world and the next. Rosenkranz saw himself as one who could stand in for his people. The function of the priest who expresses the people's wish for change, as in the last lines of 'Das Shtetl':

Nährt sich von Gebet und Betel
unter Gojim Himmel fern
unsre Arche unser Shtetel

³⁷⁶ Carlos Fuentes, 'In Praise of the Novel', speech delivered at the opening of the Fifth International Literature Festival Berlin, 6 September 2005. <http://www.signandsight.com/features/361.html> [Accessed 10 April 2006].

³⁷⁷ W.G. Sebald, *Unheimliche Heimat*, p. 107.

wartend auf den Tag des Herrn³⁷⁸

This turn toward the metaphysical illustrates the desire for the justice which is longed for but not seen, as the time and place where home will be complete. Poverty is the main characteristic of the village community described in these lines and the 'Tag des Herrn' suggests a liberation from its constraints. This metaphysical home is part and parcel of religious thinking and here it is combined with the political and communal aspect of home. That home is now under a Goyim sky, no longer Jewish and yet the community is waiting and hoping for the day of the Lord. Redemption is there as a promise of the end of injustice and misery. The community is formed by the shared experience of misfortune. The poet becomes the priest, the mediator between the words of the people and the Word of the logos. Everyday objects such as food take on a sacred character, because of their scarcity. In an unpublished introduction to a volume of his verse, Rosenkranz wrote: 'Der Dichter kommt aus ärmster Ackerbauern- und Hirtenlandschaft, er ist arm geboren und lebt in Armut. Darum ist ihm das Brot wirklich heilig'.³⁷⁹ In agreement with Lévinas's insistence on the re-insertion of the subject, Heaney also underlines his esteem for the individual's response to the outside world :

I have learned to value this poetry of inner freedom very highly. It is an example of self-conquest, a style discovered to express this poet's unique response to his universal ordinariness, a way of re-establishing the authenticity of personal experience and surviving as a credible being.³⁸⁰

When all other references had been lost, the notion of words as a sanctuary could still seem legitimate for writers who had a strong attraction to spirituality without having a structured code of belief. The process of turning 'In the beginning was the word' into 'language as the home of being' happened without a conscious awareness of the implications, nor indeed of how deeply the Judao-Christian tradition was an ingredient of the transfer. Poetry became a secular version of the faith in the Word from the Jewish tradition, a construction of meaning which sought to replace the loss of religious faith. In secular terms the search for heaven can be seen as the quest for justice.

³⁷⁸ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Das Shtetl', *Im Untergang*, p. 72, lines 21-24.

³⁷⁹ Moses Rosenkranz, 'Briefe von Moses Rosenkranz an Alfred Margul-Sperber (1930-1963)', ed. by George Guțu, *Zeitschrift der Germanisten Rumäniens* 1-2 (7-8)/ 1995, (Bucharest: Charmes-Scott), p. 197.

³⁸⁰ Seamus Heaney, p. 144.

Language as home

Despite the traps of the different aspects of appropriating *Heimat* and language, the notion of 'Heimat im Wort' has retained a strong appeal, particularly when intellectual communities are dispersed and the affiliations to social groups are weak. In these situations the written word provides a form of non-binding familiarity.

An example of the way words are seen as a home which is more reliable than a location is the following poem by Stella Rotenberg:³⁸¹

Eintausend Meilen fort vom Heimatort
schlag ich ein deutsches Buch auf, seh ein Wort,
zum Beispiel: Spiegelhell. Versetzt sofort
fühl ich in Reinheit mich. Und in dem Wort
bin ich zuhause. Heimat, Hort
sind hier im Wort, nicht tausend Meilen fort und dort.

Born in Vienna in 1916 and having emigrated to the U.K. in 1939 Stella Rotenberg finds home on the page when one single word conveys to her all the purity of the German language. The poem begins with the concept of the physical place of the 'Heimatort', continues with the action of reading and then moves to the 'ich' being 'versetzt' (transported) to the *Heimat* in the word. The word 'versetzt' marks the movement from the geographical to the psychological level. The pureness of the one word gives the subject a sense of inner logic and beauty, allowing her to claim that she feels at home in the word. 'Spiegelhell' can be translated as 'bright as a mirror'. The German word's concision and its ability to convey so much without using a simile as in English implicitly binds the poet to the community of German speakers; one word encapsulates the whole identity of a language. The choice of the word 'Reinheit' (purity) indicates the absence of all the ambiguity that homelessness brings with it. Suddenly the purity of the word creates an absolute sense of belonging. The rhyme of 'Wort' and 'dort' emphasises the balance between the *Heimat* seen as a word and *Heimat* seen as a place; the word 'nicht' right after the comma also forces the reader to stress the word. In this case the writer insists on the fact that the geography is not what constitutes the sense of being at home anymore.

³⁸¹ Stella Rotenberg and Tamar Radzyner, *Meine wahre Heimat/ My true Homeland*, (Klagenfurt: Mnemosyne, Alekto, 1999), p. 66.

Norman Manea, who was born in Czernovitz and received the Italian Nonino literature prize in January 2002 referred to the kind of belonging that language can provide in his acceptance lecture :

More than for any other alien in his country, language is for a writer not only an achievement, but a spiritual home. Through language he feels rich and stable; and when he is fully in charge of his wealth, he gains his citizenship, a sense of belonging. Language is always home and homeland for a writer.³⁸²

In these lines Manea brings together four aspects of belonging: as a reward for work, a spiritual home, a type of wealth, a state in which one can be a citizen. This mixture of personal effort, spiritual gift and political identity indicates the interaction between the purely individual relationship to language and its community nature. The fascination with the power of language to create a sense of belonging is clearly not a theme reserved for the Bukovina authors alone. It is a trope for all writers and is becoming more of a topic as geographical location loses its stronghold as the main criterion for belonging.

Sprache ist [...] von Thomas Mann bis zu Elias Canetti, Christa Wolf, Horst Bienek und anderen Gegenwartsautoren, zum Inbegriff von Heimat geworden, zum Kriterium der Zugehörigkeit zu einer Welt, die Gerechtigkeit, Freiheit und Gewissen meint. Aus der Diskussion um Sprache, Sprachkultur und Sprachheimat aber scheinen mir heute, eine ganze Generation nach dem Ende des nationalsozialistischen Deutschland, nationale und vaterländische Töne weitgehend verschwunden.³⁸³

Poets such as Seamus Heaney, Derek Walcott and Czeslaw Milosz, to name but three writers who did not use German, are among those who have thought about how language helps one find a place in the world, especially when words seem to have lost their strength. Walcott describes writing poetry as an act of love which remakes something and by doing so turns it into an object more beautiful than the original. The text itself only provides some of the traits that a home offers, of which a very important one is the sense of hope that can be gained despite wreckage:

Break a vase, and the love that reassembles the fragments is stronger than that love which took its symmetry for granted when it was whole. The glue that fits the pieces is the sealing of its original shape. It is such a love that reassembles our African and Asiatic fragments, the cracked heirlooms whose restoration shows its white scars. This gathering of broken pieces is

³⁸² Norman Manea, The honor of exile, February 2002, at the acceptance of the Nonino prize: <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/manca2/English>. [Accessed 21 November 2005].

³⁸³ Wolfgang Frühwald, 'Deutschland, bleiche Mutter. Die Auseinandersetzung um Wort und Begriff der Heimat Deutschland zwischen dem Nationalsozialismus und der Literatur des Exils' in *Heimat*, ed. by Horst Bienek, (Vienna, Munich: Hanser), 1985, p. 40-41.

the care and pain of the Antilles, and if the pieces are disparate, ill-fitting, they contain more pain than their original sculpture, those icons and sacred vessels taken for granted in their ancestral places. Antillean art is this restoration of our shattered histories, our shards of vocabulary, our archipelago becoming a synonym for pieces broken off from the original continent.

And this is the exact process of the making of poetry, or what should be called not its "making" but its remaking, the fragmented memory.³⁸⁴

Just as the home in the expression *Sprache als Heimat* can imply the reconstruction and not the original form, so too does Walcott show that it is the remodelling and shaping of broken shards that moulds together what then becomes poetry. The 'fragmented memory' becomes the stuff for the new form, the new product of the poem. Out of the destruction of what had been, after having being robbed of the securities of the past, the writer is pushed into having to make something new. The effort involved in the task is what becomes apparent when looking at this sub-metaphor of building a text. 'Der Versuch des Exilanten, in narrativer Form ein neues Ganzes zu schaffen, bedeutet einen Akt der Erinnerung und der Schöpfung'.³⁸⁵ Piecing memories together with new impressions, collating the old and the new, the remains of the past with the fragments of the present is the activity of any life after a crisis, and the artistic process does this in a more visible form. Poetry combines the blending memory with the creative act more succinctly than prose, as its rigidity of structure condenses the need for order and logic, which is permanently threatened. Heaney insists on how important poetry is in the reconstruction of beauty. He sees Milosz as a defender of this mission:

As Milosz has observed, no intelligent contemporary is spared the pressure exerted in our world by the void, the absurd, the anti-meaning, all of which are part of the intellectual atmosphere we subsist in; and yet Milosz notices this negative pressure only to protest against a whole strain of modern literature which has conceded victory to it. Poetry, Milosz pleads, must not make this concession but maintain instead its centuries-old hostility to reason, science and a science-inspired philosophy. This resistance is part of the superiority of poetry as a literary form. Not only does it frame the beautiful and the true, it also stands alone in its exposure to the surrounding harshness. Residual beauty among the devastations of injustice becomes that which Milosz chooses to zoom in on.³⁸⁶

In the following poem Milosz illustrates his relationship to his mother tongue, revealing its power to provide clarity.

³⁸⁴ Derek Walcott, Nobel Prize speech 7 December 1992 www.nobelprize.org/literature/laureates/1992/walcott-lecture.html; [accessed 4 November 2004].

³⁸⁵ Elisabeth Bronfen, *Exil in der Literatur: Zwischen Metapher und Realität*, (Berlin: Arcadia 28, Walter de Gruyter & co., 1993), p. 171.

³⁸⁶ Seamus Heaney, *Finders Keepers*, p. 322.

My Faithful Mother Tongue

Faithful mother tongue
I have been serving you.
Every night, I used to set before you little bowls of colors
so you could have your birch, your cricket, your finch
as preserved in my memory.

This lasted many years.
You were my native land; I lacked any other.
I believed that you would also be a messenger
between me and some good people
even if they were few, twenty, ten
or not born as yet.

Now, I confess my doubt.
There are moments when it seems to me I have
squandered my life.
For you are a tongue of the debased,
of the unreasonable, hating themselves
even more than they hate other nations,
a tongue of informers,
a tongue of the confused,
ill with their own innocence.

But without you, who am I?
Only a scholar in a distant country,
a success, without fears and humiliations.
Yes, who am I without you?
Just a philosopher like everyone else.

I understand, this is meant as my education:
the glory of individuality is taken away,
Fortune spreads a red carpet
before the sinner in a morality play
while on the linen backdrop a magic lantern throws
images of human and divine torture.

Faithful mother tongue,
perhaps after all it's I who must try to save you.
So I will continue to set before you little bowls of colors
bright and pure if possible,
for what is needed in misfortune is a little order and beauty.

Milosz's relationship to language in this poem testifies to the role of memory and the mother tongue of the poet in exile. The poetic voice addresses language as a god with the 'I' bringing offerings to the mother tongue in order to keep it alive. The experience of the poet Milosz who chose to continue writing in Polish whilst living in North America differs completely from that of the Bukovina poets who chose to continue using German despite their experience of having been betrayed by the users of their language, yet the conscious choice to remain

loyal to the mother tongue is the same. In this poem the mother tongue is first depicted as a god, whom the poet must serve with memories. The mother tongue should provide a link between the I and 'some good people', even if those readers were not yet born. The ambiguity in this address already changes the perspective from the poet serving the language, to the language being the one to attempt to find a sympathetic reader. Yet doubt enters the poem, when the poetic voice is faced with the users of the language. The community of those who use the poet's mother tongue is not always one the 'I' identifies with. Yet the realisation of the impossibility of isolation from his people comes in the next strophe, when language is seen as the one who forms individuality. The end of the poem joins the positions of servant and the one being served, of the poetic voice and the mother tongue. This juxtaposition of language's weakness and nobility turns poetry into a wordscape where identity is reforged. What this approach shares with that of Rosenkranz and the Bukovina authors is the view that the language is worth preserving and that it itself helps to preserve that which is beautiful and ordered.

The other type of modern home of language is found when authors are confronted by dictatorships. One example of this is the Cuban poet Raúl Rivero, who writes of poetry being a refuge: 'For me poetry has always been a refuge. In difficult moments, as in times of happiness I have turned to poetry, whether in suffering or pleasure'.³⁸⁷ The only poems Rivero was allowed to write during his eleven months in prison were about love. The anthology he completed during that time is entitled: *Corazón sin furia*. This triumph over the injustice of being imprisoned because of having spoken out against the Castro government is another instance of the value of writing and its potential to create a reality where another logic reigns other than that of political coercion.

In German the question of the location of language seems to continue to disturb authors. The whole of Elfriede Jelinek's Nobel lecture, for instance, is about not knowing where language has gone: 'Ich kann ja gar nicht sprechen, meine Sprache ist derzeit nämlich leider nicht zu Hause'.³⁸⁸ Language as a self-willed visitor. A valuable path for further research would be the question of how much the concept of *Sprache als Heimat* has continued to influence authors who write in German in more recent history. Language as a refuge or a space to dwell in is a trope for all writers but the special connotations of *Heimat* in German make it a thornier issue than in other languages.

³⁸⁷ Raúl Rivero, 'Poemas desde la Cárcel' (*El País*, 5 December 2004), p. 38. Para mí, la poesía ha sido siempre un refugio. Tanto en los momentos difíciles como en los de alegría he acudido a ella, para el sufrimiento o el disfrute'.

³⁸⁸ Elfriede Jelinek, Nobel Lecture 2005, http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2004/jelinek-lecture-g.html. [Accessed 7 November 2006].

Conclusion

From the literal landscapes of the Bukovina to the mental constructions of Lévinas and Heidegger the search for the language home has moved from the land to the text to the person. The interaction between land, text and body has stretched the modalities of belonging from the geographical to the personal. It has underlined the fact that an analysis of one way of pertaining to a group cannot take place without considering the other possibilities of self-definition. Texts about *Heimat* in the last few decades have twisted the word into every imaginable shape. Authors have been redefining the many modalities of belonging and more and more studies are now drawing on the different perspectives of what language and identity involve.³⁸⁹

The combinations of disciplines is crucial in the studies of such complex matters such as belonging and language and in this study the interplay between history, poetry, and philosophy revealed some of the patterns for the different realities involved in *Sprache als Heimat*. It was necessary to include each discipline in order to comprehend some of the many layers of language and *Heimat*. Hubert Ehalt comments on this interplay between the disciplines in his introduction to Ruth Klüger's work:

Die Grenze zwischen literarischen und geschichtswissenschaftlichen Texten erscheint gegenwärtig jedenfalls weit weniger deutlich. Diese Problemstellung sorgt innerhalb der Geschichtswissenschaft für heiße Diskussionen, und sie belebt auch das interdisziplinäre Gespräch zwischen Sprachwissenschaft, Sozial- und Geschichtsforschung.³⁹⁰

Ehalt's comments on Klüger's writing also apply to Rosenkranz. The historical, biographical, poetical and philosophical contexts all contributed to a better understanding of what *Heimat* meant in the first section of this study. The interweaving of Rosenkranz's biography with the literary history of the Bukovina, the combination of myth and memory resulted in a pattern which brought out the lines of how personal and communal interaction are related.

The section on loss gave a new perspective on the reality of the homes and languages. The removal of homes and languages and the gap that they leave behind provided vital information about how the reconstruction could then take place. Analysing the interpretations of *Sprache als Heimat* has revealed that using metaphors in everyday life can be as useful as

³⁸⁹ One example is Katja Garloff, *Words from abroad: trauma and displacement in postwar German Jewish writers* (Wayne State University Press, 2005), which examines the way communities reformed after the Holocaust.

³⁹⁰ Hubert Christian Ehalt in his introduction to Ruth Klüger's, *Dichter und Historiker: Fakten und Fiktionen*, (Vienna: Picus, 1999).

it can be dangerous. The temptation of aesthetic seduction in itself can be fatal for those who do not draw the necessary political and practical consequences.

When scrutinising a metaphor the careful analysis of the literal meanings of each component showed how complex even the most basic meanings of each word are. *Sprache* and *Heimat* are already multi-layered before one begins to think about how they can be synonymous. The observations on a microscopic level were then brought in conjunction with the broader lines of philosophical thought on both terms.

By comparing Heidegger's texts and life with the thoughts and biographies of Celan and Rosenkranz it became clear that the kind of *Heimat* the poets found in language was of another sort than what the philosopher had meant. The poets' relationship to the territory and community that form *Heimat* was based on writing, but writing for and to someone, however distant the readers remained.

Another discovery was that the differences between Heidegger and Lévinas are very relevant to literature, in particular to the way in which language creates an environment of belonging. The way the *Sein* manifests itself raises ethical questions directly related to the poetry from the Bukovina. *Sprache als Heimat* can be the case when *Sprache* is understood as the meeting place with another person, so that one can conclude that Lévinas and Buber come closer to expressing a relationship between language and home that would have applied to the Bukovina poets than Heidegger did.

Forming a new reality is a part of the necessity implied in the metaphor of *Sprache als Heimat*. Intellectuals are often tempted to resolve practical problems by turning them into philosophical concepts and there seems to be an almost instinctive attempt to avoid thinking about practical details and to defer thoughts from a painful situation to an intellectual, artistic, spiritual, or even political conundrum. In this transfer the imagination takes on a stronger role than practical thinking, often ignoring memories that are too difficult or impossible to integrate into everyday life. A psychological transfer takes place from an uncomfortable situation to one where there is consolation in seeing language as a sublimated home. *Traumworte* are not words that refer to dreams but rather words which become themselves the transmitters of dreams. They encapsulate hope in themselves.

The same trend of glorifying a concept has also affected the word 'exile' which is often used to raise the status of the writer. Exile as an idea is dramatised in order to veil the banality of everyday existence. This way of reversing a situation, of making the unbearable seem noble is also a part of the process of making 'language into a home'. The predicament of not having a

home can thus be turned into a noble status. The metaphor of exile gives its user the possibility to elevate the everyday into the realm of the poetic so as to connect the experience to the great literary figures of exile, from Ovid to Camus. In the same way making 'language into a home' lifts the dreariness of material homelessness to the lofty noblesse of an artistic identity. Englmann accurately discerns the difficulties of this enterprise:

Exil als metaphorisches Feld stellt sich sehr viel farbiger dar als der karge autorenzentrierte Exilbegriff. Die Exilanten haben diese Metaphorik selbst eingeführt und ausgiebig verwendet: das Exil wird als Krankheit bezeichnet, als todesähnlicher Zustand, als existentielle Prüfung des Künstlertums etc. Man kann dieses Schwelgen in Bildern sicherlich als Reaktion auf die oft banale Exilrealität verstehen, als Versuch, die eigene Situation metaphorisch zu verherrlichen³⁹¹.

Insisting on the difference between the material and the artistic leads one to observe that the negativity of language, as found particularly in Celan's work, has not proved to be a comfortable dwelling space. The question raised by the Romantics of whether one can settle in that which is removed and strange to us, 'Kann er [der Mensch] sich wirklich im Fremden einrichten?', must now be answered in the negative.³⁹² Despite the attraction of art, it is not possible to live in empty spaces, nor to be constantly surrounded by scaffolding. The protection granted by estrangement is only the breathing space when that which is too familiar becomes stale and suffocating. Many authors need it as a way of making new clearings. Mandelstam, for instance, found estrangement to be a way of gaining distance which provided a covering. In the poem 'Der deutschen Sprache zugedacht' the German language is what gives him a sense of otherness and space:³⁹³

Die fremde Sprache wird mich schützen, kleiden
Wie eine Haut – eh mich die Welt gesehen hatte,
War ich ein Zeichen, Schrift- und Traubenzeile.
Ich war ein Buch, war euer Traum und Schatten.

This stanza shows how foreignness gives the lyrical subject protection; he escapes that which is closest to him. Verse gives the reader the chance to forget, to be taken to scenes far away from what immediately surrounds them. This protection granted by estrangement is as visible in Mandelstam as it is in Celan. But if protection is the condition needed for the creative act,

³⁹¹ Bettina Englmann, p. 6.

³⁹² Rüdiger Görner: 'Das Fremde und das Eigene. Zur Geschichte eines Wertkonflikts' in *Mauer, Schatten, Gerüst: Kulturkritische Versuche*, (Tübingen: Klöpfer&Meyer, 1999), p. 25.

³⁹³ Ossip Mandelstam, 'Der Deutschen Sprache zugedacht', in *Ossip Mandelstam: Das zweite Leben. Späte Gedichte und Notizen*, translated from Russian to German by Felix Philip Ingold, ed. by Michael Krüger, (Munich, Vienna: Akzente Hanser, 1991), lines 25-28, p. 45-46.

there must also be faith in one's own judgement and the freedom to be vulnerable. Estrangement in itself does not grant one with the protection that is normally understood as a source of comfort.

The glorification of the foreign arena corresponds to the recurrent topic of utopia that arises in the writing on *Heimat*. Utopia being a non-place, home would begin to gain a quality of negativity, something which does not exist 'out there', but which one nonetheless continues to yearn for. This is Bernhard Schlink's version of *Heimat*:

So sehr Heimat auf Orte bezogen ist, Geburts- und Kindheitsorte, Orte des Glücks, Orte an denen man lebt, wohnt, arbeitet, Familie und Freunde hat – letztlich hat sie weder einen Ort noch ist sie einer. Heimat ist Nichtort, [...]. Heimat ist Utopie. Am intensivsten wird sie erlebt, wenn man weg ist und sie einem fehlt; das eigentliche Heimatgefühl ist das Heimweh. Aber auch wenn man nicht weg ist, nährt sich das Heimatgefühl aus Fehlendem, aus dem, was nicht mehr oder auch noch nicht ist. Denn die Erinnerungen und Sehnsüchte machen die Orte zur Heimat.³⁹⁴

Home becomes the place which no longer exists or does not yet exist, and as seen by Bloch, the principle of hope itself, not as something that had existed historically.³⁹⁵ Memory and longing, as two forms of nostalgia are then the main attributes of the belonging. This new kind of home of the mind, a home where comfort and a sense of tranquillity are found in memory and longing, dislodges the old familiar home which provided a material space of well-being in the present. Belonging and home now become something unobtainable, they become more of a spiritual quest than a practical exercise.

The removal of territory as in Celan does not provide a dwelling space. As Shira Wolosky confirms: 'To go home is to go home to forgetting; to the never-quite-belonging of the guest; to a place of radical contingency'.³⁹⁶

Améry refused to be duped by any kind of positive interpretation of negativity. His position was to emphasise the literal necessities that human existence requires. Language cannot provide for the practical needs that a person has of a home, neither in material, social nor spiritual terms. The material reality of territory and community is found in houses in which real people can move and interact. This cannot be replaced by the virtual world that words create. Words are material links to those places and people to whom one can belong. The tangible and the ideas must come together, as perhaps they did in the last phase of Rosenkranz's life in his house, his wife and his readers. This practical dimension must also

³⁹⁴ Bernhard Schlink, *Heimat als Utopie*, p. 32.

³⁹⁵ Ernst Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967).

³⁹⁶ Shira Wolosky, p. 172.

become a political concern for all types of refugees or persons in exile. Améry's refutation of Heidegger seizes sharply on this difference between the literal and the intellectual constructions and condemns the lack of courage to call a spade a spade.

Although both home and language are usually considered in terms of the possessor, that is, in terms of the one who owns the home or who speaks the language, in the course of this study it has become clear that the two words are just as much indicators of the invisible community in which the house finds itself or which the speaker is addressing. Both home and language already imply other people ; alterity is implicit in both words. The house is the refuge from others, also the place in which the owner determines who may enter. The language user also chooses whom to speak to, and whom to avoid. Therefore Lévinas's approach tells us more than Heidegger's, even if the latter was the one to coin the phrase of *Sprache als Heimat*. For Heidegger language had a speech of its own.

The philosophy of language had taken on a new direction with the philosophy of dialogue in the early years of the twentieth century. As a product of the First World War it began to consider ways in which dialogue established or restored community. The 'I' could be better understood by communicating with the 'thou'. These themes were worked on by Buber and Rosenzweig and the relationship of the temporal to the eternal was given a new foundation by stating that the essence of the other is a priority, not just a figure of contention. The philosophy of dialogue revealed that the relationship to the 'other' is also more than an emotional bond. The way the 'other' marks territory and becomes a reference point relates to the way in which a sense of belonging is formed. Ethically, politically and in a religious sense the 'other' is more than someone to be avoided or a face in the crowd. He or she is the reality that forms mine. His or her being comes into a relationship with mine and changes its modalities. Buber's own experience was a transfer from the fascination with being in a personal and possessive sense to one which is in communion with the other. In my view this is what occurs with the Bukovina poetry. There is a sense of the reader's importance, of the poet's need to address a 'thou' beyond the many 'thou's present in his or her immediate environment. This invisible 'thou' is the picket planted in the ground, defying the emptiness of immaterial belonging and affirming that the word on the page can find an empathetic reader, and thus make hope a form of logic.

As the 'thou' becomes central to *Heimat* the concept continues to hold the mixture of a stable reference point and of a variable entity. Stability, when set in the context of a relationship, gains an active dimension that can be constructed by loyalty. The strength that the mental, physical, emotional scope a person can offer then seem more of a source of familiarity than that granted by a geographical or political entity. The intimacy that can be created between

two people makes the 'homeness' for which language is necessary. It forms the secret between them, the 'Geheimnis' which constitutes the 'Heim'. This inner world of belonging is formed by the knowledge that one person has of the other in the other person's most hidden depths, in that part which would not be shared with the outside world. This 'Heim' is the one that is created by communicating with the other; it is a form of home where language strengthens the respect of what is hidden in the other. This is an intimate fabrication of home, not created by political or historical or social events. This shows very clearly how malleable the concept is, how the identity of a person shifts according to affections and how a person's sense of familiarity and strangeness modulates accordingly.

The world that the other creates is more familiar than any other location and thus becomes the new metaphor for home. Yet the major difference between this metaphor and the *Sprache als Heimat* metaphor is the way the former, the person, is tangible and language is not. Beginning with Buber's placement of the other at the centre of the philosophy of dialogue, and ending with Lévinas's insistence on the other as an ethical imperative, language becomes a *Heimat* only in so far as it incorporates the 'other' as a defining part of the self. Relationships are the context in which answers are to be found for what constitutes belonging. As Buber summarises: 'Im Anfang ist die Beziehung'.³⁹⁷ The relationship replaces the word as a setting for practical answers to the question of *Sprache als Heimat*. From a person's relationship to the house, land, from the relationship of child to mother, adult to the friend, the next step would be, according to Buber, to consider the relationship between oneself and the Creator. This then would be the ultimate interlocutor. The interplay of one's relationship towards language to that with others to that with God is what should constitute the balance between the practical and the imagined types of *Heimat*. This differentiation is made more explicit in Lévinas's works, where the insistence on the human aspect of philosophy. As Eva Rychter remarks in her study:

When Lévinas describes literature as an exile from ontological synchrony, he emphasizes that this exile should not be understood in terms of a locus—a particular place—situated outside the totalising thought. Contrasting Heidegger's and Blanchot's statements on literature, Lévinas concludes that the claims of the former, who maintains that art is a disclosure of being and a light which elucidates the landscape inhabited by man, are unacceptable. Drawing on Blanchot, Lévinas argues that literature does not lead to the truth of Being, but to a non-light and "the errancy of being, "where" one can find no place to reside'.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁷ Martin Buber, *Das Dialogische Prinzip*, 8th edn, (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider Series, 1997), p. 22.

³⁹⁸ Ewa Rychter, *(Un)saying the other: Allegory and Irony in Lévinas's Ethical Language*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), p. 88.

This clear denunciation of literature as a dwelling place reaffirms Lévinas's insistence on the divide between arts and ethics. He refuses to give the arts the same primary position as that of the responsibility one person has to the other. Literature expresses a search for that which unites in time and in place but does not do so on the page. It is only in the imagination that the meeting takes place, which is not the same as the encounter with the other's face. The 'ontological synchrony' is sought, but not experienced in literature.

To be housed in language would therefore mean having a permeable and shifting *Heimat*, which is a contradiction in terms, as stability is one of the main attributes of *Heimat*. Yet because the new situations lacked any consolation for the Bukovina poets, they used the image of language as a cocoon. This is a form of nostalgia or a metaphor vague enough to camouflage the drabness of the everyday need for warmth and security and to disguise it as a more spiritual need. Celan's 'Fremdsprache des Alltags' is at the heart of the problem with *Sprache als Heimat*. It is not the sublime which characterises *Heimat*, but rather the gentle reassurance of its banality, of the opportunity *Heimat* should offer to leave it behind and enter into new ground. The deep need for this kind of safety is being denied in a time when relationships, homes and philosophical adherences seem arbitrary but the presentation of 'Heimat als work-in-progress' denies the possibility of there being a visible manifestation of the longing.³⁹⁹ The basic contradiction between the scaffolding and a permanent structure must be a call for the return to the understanding of home in its most basic sense as a place of security. Longing can be seen as the result of not belonging and therefore *Heimat* needs to offer more than a mental construction.

³⁹⁹ Rüdiger Görner, *Heimat und Toleranz*, (Eggingen: Isele, 2006), p. 46.

Bibliography

Primary literature

Ausländer, Rose: *Schweigen auf deine Lippen, Gedichte aus dem Nachlaß*, ed. by Helmut Braun, (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer 2001)

Aschensommer: *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, (Munich: dtv 1978)

Buber, Martin: *Das Dialogische Prinzip*, 8th edn (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider Series, 1997)

Logos: Zwei Reden, (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1962)

Celan, Paul, *Gedichte I* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1975)

„Du mußt versuchen, auch den Schweigenden zu hören“, *Briefe an Diet Kloos-Barendregt*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002).

Der Meridian : Rede anläßl. d. Verleihung des Georg-Büchner-Preises ; Darmstadt, am 22. Okt. 1960 / Paul Celan . - Frankfurt a. M. : S. Fischer , 1961

Fiumara, Gemma Corradi, *The metaphoric process: Connections between language and life*, (New York: Routledge, 1995).

Franzos, Carl Emil, ed., *Buchenblätter: Czernowitz 1870*, (Czernovitz: Buchowiecki & Comy)

Gottfried Benn, *Probleme der Lyrik*, (Wiesbaden: Limes), 1954, 3rd edn.

Heidegger, Martin, 'Die Sprache als Heimat', in *Gesamtausgabe*, vol.13, *Aus der Erfahrung des Denkens* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann 1998)

Identität und Differenz, (Pfullingen: Günther Neske, 1957)

Vorträge und Aufsätze, volume 7 of complete works (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2000)

Sein und Zeit, (10th edn. Tübingen: Max Meyer).

Unterwegs zur Sprache, 12th edn (Stuttgart: Günther Neske Verlag, 2001)

Kittner, Alfred, *Erinnerungen 1906-1991*, (Aachen: Rimbaud, 1996)

Schattenschrift: Gedichte (Aachen: Rimbaud, 1988)

Lévinas, Emmanuel, *De l'existence à l'existant*, 4th edn., (Paris: Librairie philosophique

J. Vrin, 1998)

Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence, translated by Alphonso Lingis, (The Hague, Boston, London: Martins Nijhoff Publishers, 1981).

En découvrant l'existence avec Husserl et Heidegger 3rd edn, (Paris : Librairie philosophique Vrin, 2001)

Le temps et l'autre, 6th edn., (Paris: Quadrige, Presses Universitaires de France, 1996)

Répondre d 'autrui, ed. by Jean-Christophe Aeschlimann, (Boudry-Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1989)

Totalité et Infini, Essai sur l'extériorité, (Paris: Kluwer Academic/ Livre de Poche, 1987)

Ricœur, Paul, *Du texte à l'action: Essais d'herméneutique, II*, (Paris: seuil, 1986)

La métaphore vive, (Paris: seuil, 1975)

La Mémoire, L'Histoire, L'Oubli, (Paris: Seuil, 2000).

Rosenkranz, Moses, *Kindheit, Fragment einer Autobiographie*, ed. by Bernhard Albers and Reinhard Kiefer, (Aachen: Rimbaud, 2001)

Untergang: Ein Jahrhundertbuch, ed. by Anton Schwob, (Munich: Süddeutsches Kulturwerk, 1986)

Untergang II: Ein Jahrhundertbuch, (Innsbruck: Wort und Welt, 1988)

Bukowina: Gedichte 1920-1997, (Aachen: Rimbaud, 1998)

Unpublished material from the Moses Rosenkranz collection, AR 25087, Leo Baeck Institute, New York

Weißglas, Immanuel, *Aschenzeit*, (Aachen: Rimbaud, 1994)

Werner, Klaus, ed., *Fäden ins Nichts Gespannt*, 3rd edn. (Frankfurt: Insel, 1998)

Secondary literature

- Adorno, Theodor W., *Jargon der Eigentlichkeit, Zur deutschen Ideologie*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1964)
- Adunka, Evelyn, Roessler, Peter, eds., *Die Rezeption des Exils: Geschichte und Perspektiven der österreichischen Exilforschung*, (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2003)
- Améry, Jean, *Jenseits von Schuld und Sühne: Bewältigungsversuche eines Überwältigten*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980)
- Unmeisterliche Wanderjahre*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1971)
- Applegate, Celia. *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)
- Ayers, Robert H., *Logic and reason in the church fathers, a study of Tertullian, Augustine and Aquinas*, (Hildesheim: Olms, 1979)
- Baer, Ulrich: *Remnants of Song, Trauma and the experience of Modernity in Charles Baudelaire and Paul Celan*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000)
- Barner, Wilfried Detken, Anke and Wesche, Jörg (eds.), *Texte zur modernen Mythentheorie* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2003)
- Bastian, Andrea, *Der Heimat-Begriff*, (Tübingen: Niemeyer 1995, Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 159)
- Baumann, Gerhart, *Sprache und Selbstbegegnung*, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink 1981)
- Hermann Bausinger et al., Kohlhammer, *Heimat heute* (Berlin, Köln, Mainz, 1984)
- Beilmann, Axel, *Die Krisis des Subjekts: Cartesianismus, Phänomenologie und Existenzialanalytik unter anthropologischen Aspekten*, (Bonn: Bouvier, 1990)
- Heimat als Daseinsmetapher: Weltanschauliche Elemente im Denken des Theologiestudenten Martin Heidegger* (Vienna: Passagen, 1994)
- Beil, Claudia, *Die Sprache als Heimat: jüdische Tradition und Exilerfahrung in der Lyrik von Nelly Sachs und Rose Ausländer*, (Munich: Tuduv Studie, 1991)
- Bergem, Wolfgang et al., *Metapher und Modell: Ein Wuppertaler Kolloquium zu literarischen und wissenschaftlichen Formen der Wirklichkeitskonstruktion*, (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1996)

Blickle, Peter: *Heimat, A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland*, (Rochester: Camden House, 2002)

Bettelheim, Bruno: *Erziehung zum Überleben, Zur Psychologie der Extremsituation*, (Munich: dtv), 1982

Bettelheim, Peter, *Ist jetzt hier die 'Wahre Heimat'? Ostjüdische Einwanderung nach Wien*, ed. by Micahel Ley (Vienna: Picus, 1993)

Beutin, Wolfgang, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 6th edn, (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2001)

Bienek, Horst, ed., *Heimat: Neue Erkundungen eines alten Themas* (Vienna, Munich: Hanser, 1985)

Biermann, Wolf: 'Harter Brocken, weicher Stein. Anmerkungen zu acht großen Versen des Dichters Moses Rosenkranz'. in: *Die Welt*, 23. März 2002, p. 7; 2.

'Über Deutschland. Unter Deutschen. Essays'. Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Köln 2002, S. 150 ff.;

'Die Füße des Dichters. Wolf Biermann zum Tod des jüdischen Dichters Moses Rosenkranz'. In: *Der Spiegel*, Nr. 22 / 26.5.2003, p. 150-153.

Bloch, Ernst, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, (Frankfurt am Main :Suhrkamp, 1967)

Boa, Elizabeth and Palfreyman, Rachel, *Heimat: A German Dream* (Oxford OUP, 2000)

Friedhelm Boll, *Sprechen als Last und Befreiung, Holocaust-Überlebende und politisch Verfolgte zweier Diktaturen*, (Bonn: J.H. W. Dietz Nachf.)

Böll, Heinrich, *Heimat und keine* (Munich: Dtv., 1965)

Bollack, Jean, *Paul Celan: Poetik der Fremdheit*, translated from French to German by Werner Wögerbauer (Vienna: Zsolnay, 2000)

Bollnow, Otto Friedrich, *Mensch und Raum* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1963)

Neue Geborgenheit: Das Problem einer Überwindung des Existentialismus, 3rd edn., (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972)

Borsche, Tilman, ed., *Klassiker der Sprachphilosophie: von Platon bis Noam Chomsky*, (Munich: Beck, 1996)

Bossle, Lothar, *Zur Soziologie utopischen Denkens in Europa: von Thomas Morus zu Ernst Bloch*, (Paderborn: Bonifatius, 1993)

Braun, Helmut, ed., *Czernowitz: Die Geschichte einer untergangenen Kulturmetropole*, (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2005)

Brodsky, Joseph, 'This condition we call exile' (New York Review of Books. Volume 34, Number 21 & 22, January 21, 1988)

Conversations, ed. by Cynthia L. Haven, (University Press of Mississippi Jackson, 2002)

Less Than One: Selected Essays (London: Penguin Books, 1986)

Bronfen, Elisabeth, *Exil in der Literatur: Zwischen Metapher und Realität*, (Arcadia 28, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993)

Bucher, Anton A. and Gutenthaler, Andreas: eds., *Heimat in einer globalisierten Welt*, (Vienna: öbv&hpt, 2001)

Buck, Theo, *Muttersprache, Mördersprache*, (Aachen: Rimbaud Celan Studien, I., 1993)

Chomsky, Noam, *The Architecture of Language*, ed. by Nirmalangshu Mukherji, 3rd edn (Oxford: OUP, 2001)

Coldewey, Gaby and others, *Zwischen Pruth und Jordan: Lebenserinnerungen Czernowitzer Juden*, (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau 2003)

Colin, Amy, ed. *Argumentum e Silencio, International Paul Celan Symposium*, (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987)

Colin, Amy and Kittner, Alfred, eds., *Versunkene Dichtung der Bukowina*, (Munich: Fink, 1994)

Corbea, Andrei and Michael Astner, eds., *Kulturlandschaft Bukowina: Studien zur deutschsprachigen Literatur des Buchenlandes nach 1918*, (Iassy: Editura Universitatii 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza', 1990)

Czernowitzer Geschichten: Über eine städtische Kultur in Mitteleuropa, (Vienna: Böhlau, 2003)

Cordon, Cécile and Kusdat, Helmut, *An Der Zeiten Ränder*, (Vienna: Theodor Kramer Gesellschaft, 2002)

Corni, Gustavo and Gies, Horst, *Blut und Boden, Rassenideologie und Agrarpolitik im Staat Hitlers*, (Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner, 1994)

Critchley, Simon and Bernasconi, Robert, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Lévinas*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2002)

- Demetz, Peter, 'Czernowitz, Paris, New York: 'Von der Schwierigkeit Literatur aus der Bukovina zu beurteilen' in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nr.159, 12. July 1991, p. 32
- Demmerling, Christoph and Blume, Thomas, eds. *Grundprobleme der analytischen Sprachphilosophie von Frege zu Dummet* (Paderborn, Vienna, Schöningh: UTB für Wissenschaft : Uni-Taschenbücher ; 2052: Sprachwissenschaft, 1998)
- Derrida, Jacques, *L'écriture et la différence* (Paris: seuil, 1967)
- Dienberg, Thomas, 'Ihre Tränen sind wie Gebete' (Elie Wiesel): Das Gebet nach Auschwitz in Theologie und Literatur', unpublished dissertation (University of Vienna, 1996)
- Drachsler, Stefan, 'Die Leiblichkeit in der Philosophie von Emmanuel Lévinas' (unpublished Master thesis in philosophy, University of Vienna, 2000)
- Dutli, Ralph, *Meine Zeit, Mein Tier: Ossip Mandelstam, Eine Biographie*, (Zürich: Ammann, 2003)
- Ebeling, Hans, 'Das Ereignis des Führers, Heideggers Antwort, in *Martin Heidegger: Innen- und Außen- ansichten*, ed. by the Forum für Philosophie Bad Homburg, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989)
- Eliade, Mircea, *Mythen, Träume und Mysterien*, (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1961)
- Ender, Evelyne, *Architexts of memory: literature, science, and autobiography*, (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2005)
- Engel, Manfred and Fülleborn, Ulrich, eds., *Rainer Maria Rilke: Gedichte 1910 bis 1926* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1996)
- Englmann, Bettina, *Poetik des Exils: die Modernität der deutschsprachigen Exilliteratur*, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001)
- Felman, Shoshana and Laub, Dori, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History*, (New York: Routledge, 1992)
- Felstiner, John, *Paul Celan: Poet, Survivor, Jew*, (Yale University Press, 1995)
- Frankl, Viktor. *The Unheard Cry for Meaning*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978)
- Fräss-Ehrfeld, Claudia, ed., *Kärnten und die Bukowina* (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten, 2002)

Frei, Norbert (ed.), *Beschweigen und Bekennen : die deutsche Nachkriegsgesellschaft und der Holocaust*, (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001).

Friedrich, Hugo, *Die Struktur der modernen Lyrik* (Hamburg: rowohlt, 1956)

Führ, Eduard, ed. *Architektur–Sprache: Buchstäblichkeit, Versprachlichung, Interpretation* (Münster, New York, Munich, Berlin: Waxmann, 1998)

Bauen und Wohnen, Building and Dwelling: Martin Heideggers Grundlegung einer Phänomenologie der Architektur. Martin Heidegger's Foundation of a Phenomenology of Architecture, (Münster: Waxmann, 2000)

Goltschnigg, Dietmar and Schwob, Anton, eds., *Internationale Tagung Die Deutschsprachige Literatur der Bukowina 1987*, Graz: Die Bukowina: Studien zu einer versunkenen Literaturlandschaft ; Berichte der Internationalen Tagung "Die Deutschsprachige Literatur der Bukowina", Institut für Germanistik der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 4. - 7. Oktober 1987, 2nd edn (Tübingen: Francke, 1991)

Gordon, Haim, *The Heidegger-Buber Controversy*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001)

Görner, Rüdiger, ed., *Heimat im Wort : Oder: Verständigung über Heimat* (Munich: iudicium 1992)

Mauer, Schatten, Gerüst: Kulturkritische Versuche, (Tübingen: Klöpfer&Meyer, 1999)

Heimat und Toleranz (Eggingen: Isele, 2006)

Greverus, Ina Maria, *Der territoriale Mensch: ein literaturanthropologischer Versuch zum Heimatphänomen*, (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1972)

Guțu, Georg, 'Und vor dem Fenster warten die Träume'..." Moses Rosenkranz' Briefe an Alfred Margul-Sperber', in *Neue Literatur* 3-4 (Bukarest, 1990)

'Briefe von Moses Rosenkranz an Alfred Margul-Sperber 1930-1963', in *ZGR* 1-2 (7-8), 1995, (Bucharest: Charmes Scott)

Hale, Bob and Wright, Crispin, *A Companion to the Philosophy of Language*, (London: Blackwell, 1997)

Hamburger, Käte, *Die Logik der Dichtung*, (Stuttgart: Klett, 1957)

Handke, Peter, *Über die Dörfer, Dramatisches Gedicht*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002)

Hannes Hofbauer and Viorel Roman: *Bukowina, Bessarabien, Moldawien*, (Vienna: Promedia Druck, 1997).

Harries, Karsten, *The Ethical Function of Architecture*, (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1997)

Heaney, Seamus, *North*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1975)

Finders Keepers, Selected Prose 1971-2001 (London: Faber and Faber, 2002)

Heppner, Harald, ed., *Czernowitz: Die Geschichte einer ungewöhnlichen Stadt*, (Köln Weimar Wien: Böhlau, 2000)

Hinderer, Walter, ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik*, 2nd edn (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2001)

Jaworski, Adam, ed., *Silence, Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997)

Joseph Roth, *Juden auf Wanderschaft*, 7th edn (Kiepenheuer & Witsch: Köln, 2000)

Der Leviathan, 4th edn (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1999)

Kahn, Lisa, ed., *Reisegepäck Sprache: Deutschschreibende Schriftstellerinnen in den USA 1938-1978*, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1979)

Kertesz, Imre, *Die exilierte Sprache, Essays und Reden*, translated from Hungarian to German by Kristin Schwamm and others (Suhrkamp, 2004)

Klüger, Ruth, *Von hoher und niedriger Literatur*, (Bonn: Wallstein, 1996)

Dichter und Historiker: Fakten und Fiktionen, (Vienna: Picus: 1999)

Kluge, Manfred, ed. *Heimat: Ein deutsches Lesebuch*, (Munich: Heyne 1989)

Koch, Günter, Josef Pretscher, eds., *Kirche als Heimat*, (Würzburg: Echter, 1991)

Kraus, Karl, *Die Sprache*, ed. by Christian Wagenknecht (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987)

Kunert, Günter, ed., *Aus fremder Heimat: Zur Exilsituation heutiger Literatur*, (Munich, Vienna: Hanser Verlag, 1988)

- Kunz, Claudia Edith, *Schweigen und Geist: Biblische und patristische Studien zu einer Spiritualität des Schweigens*, (Freiburg, Basel, Wien. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1996)
- Kwiatkowska, Alina, 'Silence across modalities' in *Silence, Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. by Adam Jaworski
- Lacoue-Labarthe, Philippe, *Poetry as Experience*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999)
- La Capra, Dominick : *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).
- Laqueur, Thomas, 'Travelling in the Classic Style' in *London Review of Books*, 5 September 2002
- Levi, Primo, *Other People's Trades*, Translated by Raymond Rosenthal (London: Abacus, 1989)
- Levine, Michael G., *The Belated Witness, Literature, Testimony, and the Question of Holocaust Survival*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006)
- Loos, Adolf, *Trotzdem, 1900-1930* (Innsbruck: Brenner, 1931)
- Lorenz, Otto, *Schweigen in der Dichtung: Hölderlin, Rilke, Celan: Studien zur Poetik deiktisch-elliptischer Schreibweisen*, (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989)
- Maaß, Holger, *Phänomenologie im Dialog: Sprachphilosophische Interpretationen zu Husserl, Heidegger und Lévinas*, (Leipzig, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2002)
- Mair, Albert, *Heimatbegriff-Heimatverlust: Betrachtungen mit besonderem Augenmerk auf dem Aspekt der Beziehung*, (University of Innsbruck, 1993)
- Manger, Itzik, *Dunkelgold: Gedichte*, ed. and transl. by Efrat Gal-Ed (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, 2004)
- Mc Carey, Peter, *In the Metaforest*, (London: Vennel Press, 2000)
- Mc Ewan, *Atonement*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 2001)
- Meerbaum -Eisinger, Selma, *Ich bin in Sehnsucht eingehüllt*, (Fischer 2000)

Merkt, Hartmut, *Poesie in der Isolation: deutschsprachige jüdische Dichter in Enklave und Exil am Beispiel von Bukowiner Autoren seit dem 19. Jahrhundert ; zu Gedichten von Rose Ausländer, Paul Celan und Immanuel Weißglas*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999)

Milosz, Czeslaw, *The Collected Poems 1931-1987*, translated by Milosz Robert Hass, Lillian Vallee, Robert Pinsky and others, (New York: Ecco Press, 1988).

Monk, Ray, *Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius*, (London: Vintage, 1990)

Müller-Funk, Wolfgang, ed., *Neue Heimaten-Neue Fremden*, (Vienna: Picus 1992)

Nasarski, Peter, ed., *Sprache als Heimat: Auswanderer erzählen*, (Berlin/Bonn: Westkreuz, 1981)

Neuwirth, Barbara, ed., *Schriftstellerinnen sehen ihr Land: Österreich aus dem Blick seiner Autorinnen*, (Vienna: Wiener Frauenverlag, 1995)

Nye, Andrea, ed., *Philosophy of Language: the big questions*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998)

Obendiek, Edzard, *Der lange Schatten des babylonischen Turmes: Das Fremde und der Fremde in der Literatur*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000)

Olschner, Leonard, *Der feste Buchstab: Erläuterungen zu Paul Celans Gedichtübertragungen*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985)

‘Heimkehr’, ‘Köln, Am Hof’, ‘In Mundhöhe’ in *Kommentar zu Paul Celans Sprachgitter*. ed. by Jürgen Lehmann in collaboration with Jens Finckh, Markus May and Susanna Brogi (Heidelberg: University Press Winter, 2005)

Ong, Walter J., *Orality and Literacy*, (London and New York: Methuen, 1982)

Ostrow, Matthew B., *Wittgenstein's Tractatus: A Dialectical Interpretation*, (Cambridge: CUP, 2002)

Pattison, George, *Routledge philosophy guidebook to the later Heidegger*, (London, Routledge, 2000)

Pieper, Josef, *Mißbrauch der Sprache, Mißbrauch der Macht*, (Stuttgart: Schwabenverlag 1985)

Pöggeler, Otto, *Neue Wege mit Heidegger*, (Freiburg, Munich: Karl Alber, 1992)

Der Denkweg Martin Heideggers, 2nd edn., (Pfullingen : Neske , 1983)

Pollack, Martin, *Galizien*, (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Insel, 2001)

- Michael J. Power, Tim Dalgleish: *Cognition and Emotion: From Order to Disorder*, (Hove: Psychology Press, 1997)
- Pöschler, Susanne, *Das Phänomen Heimat: Ein Interdisziplinäres Forschungsfeld*, (Salzburg University, 1989).
- Preminger, Alex and T. V. F. Brogan: *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, (Princeton: University Press, 1993)
- Preziosi, Donald, *Architecture, language and meaning*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1979)
- Rapaport, Lynn, *Jews in Germany after the Holocaust: Memory, Identity and Jewish-German Relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Reemtsma, Philipp, *Die Memoiren Überlebender*, (Hamburg: Mittelweg 36, 1997)
- Reich-Ranicki, Marcel, *Über Ruhestörer: Juden in der deutschen Literatur*, (Munich: dtv 1993)
- Ricoeur, Paul, *Time and Narrative*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, 3 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) and David Carr, *Time, Narrative, and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986)
- Rieder, Bernadette, 'Landnahme: Zur Bedeutung der Heimat für das Heil des Menschen', (Master thesis, Innsbruck University, 1998)
- Roberg, Thomas, ed., *Friedrich Hölderlin: Neue Wege der Forschung*, (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003)
- Rotenberg, Stella und Radzyner, Tamar, *Meine wahre Heimat/ My True Homeland*, (Klagenfurt: Mnemosyne, Alekto, 1999)
- Rottner, Eli (Edward Rudnicki), *Das ethische Seminar in Czernowitz. Die Wiege des Internat. Constantin-Brunner-Kreises*, (Dortmund: own publication, 1973)
- Rychter, Ewa, *(Un)saying the other: Allegory and Irony in Lévinas's Ethical Language*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004)
- Safranski, Rüdiger, *Ein Meister aus Deutschland: Heidegger und seine Zeit*, 2nd edn., (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer 2002)
- Sandherr, Susanne, *Die Heimliche Geburt des Subjekts: Das Subjekt und sein Werden im Denken Emmanuel Lévinas*, (Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln: Kohlhammer, 1998)
- Sandkühler, H.J. ed., *Europäische Enzyklopädie zu Philosophie und Wissenschaften* volume 4 R-Z, (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1990)

Schlag, Evelyn, 'In einer solchen Einsamkeit Geschrieben', in *Schriftstellerinnen sehen ihr Land*, (Vienna: Wiener Frauenverlag, 1995)

Schlesak, Dieter, *In tiefster Hölle beginnt es zu singen, Zwischen zwei Diktaturen-Der Dichter Moses Rosenkranz*,
<http://www.geocities.com/Area51/Shadowlands/7860/mrosen.html> [accessed 4.8.2006]

Schlink, Bernhard, *Heimat als Utopie*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2000)

Schöffel, Georg, *Denken in Metaphern: zur Logik sprachlichen Bilder*, (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1987)

Sebald, W.G., *Unheimliche Heimat*, 2nd edn., (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, January 2003)

Die Beschreibung des Unglücks: Zur Österreichischen Literatur von Stifter bis Handke; 4th edn (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003)

Shakespeare, William, *Complete Sonnets*, (New York: Dover Thrift Editions, 1991)

Shamsie, Kamila, *Kartography*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2002)

Shchylhlevska, Natalia, *Deutschsprachige Autoren aus der Bukowina* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Studien zur Deutschen und Europäischen Literatur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Volume 55, 2004)

Shmueli, Ilana, *Paul Celan-Ilana Shmueli Briefwechsel*, ed. by Thomas Sparr (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004)

Slawinski, Ilona, ed. by Joseph Strelka, *Die Bukowina: Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Peter Lang, 1995

Solms, Wilhelm, ed. *Dichtung und Heimat: Sieben Autoren unterlaufen ein Thema*, (Marburg: Hitzeroth, 1990)

Spiegelblatt, Alexander, *Durch das Okular eines Uhrmachers*, (Salzburg: Otto Müller 2003)

Steigner, Walter, ed., *Mehr als Worte: Aussagen und Anmerkungen zur deutschen Sprache*, (Econ, Düsseldorf, Vienna, 1980)

Steiner, George, *Language and Silence: Essays 1958-1966*, (London: Faber, 1967)

Stourzh, Gerald : 'Galten die Juden als Nationalität Altösterreichs?', (Eisenstadt: Studia Judaica Austriaca, roetzer, 1994)

Thomas, Edward, *The collected poems of Edward Thomas*, ed. by R. George Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978)

Townson, Michael, *Mother-tongue and Fatherland, Language and politics in German*, (Manchester University Press, 1992)

Tremain, Rose, *Music and Silence*, (London: Vintage, 2000)

Vetter, Helmuth, *Wörterbuch der phänomenologischen Begriffe*, ed. by (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 2005)

Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*. Translated by Ingrid D. Rowland, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1999)

Wahl, Angelika von: *Zwischen Heimat und Holocaust: das Deutschlandbild der Nachkommen deutscher Juden in New York*, (Frankfurt am Main, Wien: Lang, 1992)

Weil, Simone, *L'Enracinement* (Paris: Gallimard, 1943)

Leçons de philosophie de Simone Weil. Roanne 1933-1934, ed. by Anne Reynaud, (Paris: Plon, 1959)

Wichner, Ernest and Wiesner, Herbert, eds., *In der Sprache der Mörder: Ausstellungsbuch*, (Berlin: Literaturhaus, 1993)

Der Nerv: Nachdruck einer expressionistischen Czernowitzer Kultur- und Literaturzeitschrift des Jahres 1919, (Berlin: Literaturhaus Berlin, 1997)

Wittgenstein, Ludwig, *Tractatus logico-philosophicus*, (1st edn, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1963)

Bemerkungen über die Philosophie der Psychologie, Volume 1 (London: Blackwell 1980)

Wolosky, Shira, *Language Mysticism: The Negative Way of Language in Eliot, Beckett, and Celan*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995)

Zilcosky, John: 'Poetry after Auschwitz? Celan and Adorno Revisited', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 79 (2005)